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Publication financed by the Ministry of Culture and Sciences

Αριθ. εισαγ.

GRAECO-ARABICA



Α' ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΑΡΑΒΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
ON GREEK AND ARABIC STUDIES

VOLUME II

ΑΘΗΝΑ 1983

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ

GRAECO-ARABICA

VOLUME II 1983

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THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON GREEK AND ARABIC STUDIES
(June 19-24, 1983)

The First International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies took place in the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, Greece on June 19-24, 1983, under the auspices of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sciences.

Many prominent scholars from seventeen countries and twenty-two Greek scholars participated.

There were three main topics:

A. Religious and Philosophical Thought.

B. Art and Archaeology.

C. History and Literature.

The conference was opened by Mr. Apostolos Kaklamanis, Minister of Education. Mr. Ali Midani, Ambassador of Syria and Dean of the Arab ambassadors in Athens, Mr. Dimitris Beis, Mayor of Athens, Mr. Michalis Doris, General Secretary of the Ministry of Culture and Sciences, and Mr. Paul Vardinoyannis, President of the Arab Hellenic Chamber of Commerce and Development, delivered stimulating speeches emphasizing the importance of the conference and the need for the creation of a Center of Greek and Arabic Studies in Athens.

On behalf of the foreign scholars two professors spoke: Prof. Rudolf Macuch, Director of the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the Free University of West Berlin, and Prof. Muhammad Shama, of Azhar University of Egypt.

Prof. Nicolaos Konomis of the University of Thessaloniki, President of the Association for Greek and Arabic Studies, spoke about the aims of the Association.

Prof. Manolis Papathomopoulos of the University of Ioannina, President of the Organizing Committee of the First International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies, spoke about the importance of the periodical *Graeco-Arabica*, which has already been enthusiastically received by the international community of scholars, and he emphasized again the need for the establishment of a Center for Greek and Arabic Studies in Athens: the Center would establish a library, continue the publication of *Graeco-Arabica*, offer a number of public lectures on

the Arabo-Islamic Culture, organize congresses and arrange programs of research with Greek and foreign specialists; in addition it would undertake the publication of relevant books.

Finally, Prof. Vassilios Christides of the University of Athens, General Secretary of the Congress, spoke briefly in Arabic about the interrelations between the Arabic and Greek cultures.

At the last session of the Congress the participants voted unanimously for a motion to the Greek authorities asking assistance for the establishment of the Center for Greek and Arabic Studies. It was also decided that the next Congress would take place again in Athens in September 1985.

The main topics of the Second International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies are:

1. Alexander the Great in Arabic and Oriental Literature, Legend and Art.
2. Greece in the Red Sea and North Africa.
3. A limited number of other Greek-Arabic and Oriental topics.

Two receptions completed the activities of the Congress; the first was offered by the National Office for Tourism at the Intercontinental Hotel; the second was generously offered by Mr. and Mrs. Paul Vardinoyannis in their beautiful villa in Glyfada. Both of these receptions added a touch of warm cordiality among the participants.

The Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences has generously undertaken all the expenses for the organisation of the Congress and for the publication of the volumes II and III of *Graeco-Arabica*. On behalf of all the participants, the Editors express their deep gratitude.

The National Hellenic Research Foundation kindly provided its spacious amphitheater for the conferences.

In addition to the official committee a small number of graduate students assisted in the organization of the Congress under the tireless guidance of the archaeologist Mrs. Leda Moschou.

The articles included in the second and third volumes of *Graeco-Arabica* are papers which were delivered in the First International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies or were sent by invited scholars who were not able to participate in the Congress. Papers of the participants which have not yet been received will be published in the fourth volume of *Graeco-Arabica*.

Because of the speedy publication of the papers of the Congress no proofs were sent to the authors. Corrections were made by Prof. M. Papathomopoulos who assumes the responsibility for any possible errors. He has also been responsible for the publication of the Volumes II and III.

GREEK AND ORIENTAL SOURCES OF AVICENNA'S AND SOHRAWARDI'S THEOSOPHIES

There is a set of complicated problems in Irano-Arabic philosophy connected with *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya* of *aš-šaih ar-ra'īs Abū 'Ali ibn Sīnā* (d. 1037) and *Hikmat al-išrāq* of *šaih al-išrāq Šihāb ad-dīn Yahyà as-Sohrawardī* (d. 1191) as to their respective meanings and their sources. Several Orientalists of the last century (A. Tholuck 1835, E.B. Pusey 1835, S. Munk 1859, de Slane 1868 etc.) proposed, or accepted the identification of *al-hikma al-mašriqīya* with *al-hikma al-išraqīya*, and accordingly even the reading *al-hikma al-mušriqīya* for the former, has been proposed. In our century, the problem has been reexamined by I. Goldziher 1909, L. Gauthier, M. Horten 1912-3, Cl. Huart 1916, Nallino, de Boer 1921, M.S. Pinès 1952-3, L. Massignon 1952 and esp. by Henry Corbin in his numerous works concerned with his editions, translations and special studies dedicated to Avicennian and Sohrawardian philosophies.

The main difficulty consists in the fact that Avicenna's *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya* «The Oriental Wisdom», so far as it is known to us to-day, contains no special point of contact with Sohrawardī's *Hikmat al-išrāq* «The Wisdom of Illumination». Therefore, the proposed reading *al-hikma al-mušriqīya* «illuminative wisdom», now commonly rejected as an «elegant and convincing grammatical demonstration of its own impossibility», must be excluded not only for formal but also for material reasons. We know that Avicenna wrote a book under the title of *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya*, because he mentioned it in his introduction to his main work, a philosophical encyclopedia *Kitāb aš-šifā*, which is, as well as its Arabic abridgement *Kitāb an-nağāt* with its Persian version *Dāneš-nāme-ye 'Alā'ī*, a presentation of the peripatetician philosophy. Should his *Kitāb al-hikma al-mašriqīya*, written before *Kitāb aš-šifā*, have represented a philosophy different from the latter, it could hardly be identical with the manuscripts known under his name. It is noteworthy that there is no complete copy of this work. The only part published is *Mantiq al-mašriqīyīn* «The Logic of the Orientals» which appeared in Cairo 1910. Apart from this publication only a very incomplete manuscript of this Logic in the Library of the Shiite sanctuary in Mašhad is known to me. This manuscript corresponds to the text published in Cairo, only there are many lacunae,

since the copyist seems not to have completely understood the text. The manuscript of Aya Sofia, mentioned by G.C Anawati,[1] contains only the Physics and does not essentially differ from the peripatetician physics, as treated by Avicenna in his *Kitāb an-naǧāt.* Another manuscript in Oxford contains the same Arabic text written in Hebrew letters. The manuscript of Hydarabad has been inaccessible to me, but it will probably contain one or other part already mentioned. There is no Metaphysics which could be compared with Sohrawardī's work, and the parts known to us hardly deserve the name of «Oriental Wisdom», since they are written in the spirit of the peripatetician philosophy. It is possible that the main part of this work containing metaphysics and theosophy was destroyed during the pillages of Avicenna's books by the orthodox Sultan Mas'ūd, son of Mahmud al-Ġaznawī in the years 1029 and 1033. In one of his last letters, Avicenna mentions his Oriental philosophy.[2] He calls it *al-Uṣūl al-mašriqīya* «Oriental Principles» and *al-Masā'il al-mašriqīya* «Oriental Problems». Avicenna wrote in this letter that he well knew what happened to his books. People wrote to him that they had no information of a great part of his *al-Masā'il al-mašriqīya.* It is, therefore, possible that the essential part of his «Oriental Philosophy», of which there is no complete copy, was destroyed during the mentioned pillages of Sultan Mas'ūd, or that some treatises which remained (in our case the Logic and the Physics) were given the title *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya,* although originally they might not have belonged to it.

How easily such a confusion of titles may happen, when an author writes several books under similar, or related titles, can be illustrated by the following example: Avicenna says in his mentioned letter that his *al-Hikma al-'aršīya,* a treatise on theosophy, had also been lost. Nevertheless, this, or another similar treatise is known in many manuscripts. Yahyā Mahdawī mentions it in his Catalogue of Avicenna's writings (*Fehrest-e mosannāfat-e Ebn-e Sīnā*, Tehran 1954, p. 75f.); it was edited in Tehran and Haydarabad, translated into Persian and discussed at large by Egbert Meyer in Köln under the title «Philosophischer Gottesglaube: Ibn Sinas Thronschrift» in ZDMG 130 / 1980, pp. 226-227. It is difficult to suppose that this small treatise could have been confused with another; we know Avicenna's theosophy sufficiently from this treatise. But we cannot say that we know the theosophy of his *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya*, because there is none which remained under this title.

1. Un manuscrit de la Hikma mašriqīya d'Ibn Sīnā. Mél. Inst. dom. d'Etudes orientales 1945, pp. 164f.

2. This and the following informations have been inspired by E. Panoussi, La notion de participation dans la philosophie d'Avicenne. Etudes historiques et doctrinales (Phil. Dissertation, Louvain 1967), where on pp. 23ff. Avicenna's relation to the oriental philosophy has been summarily treated, and in chapter III (pp. 101-140) a chronology of Avicenna's works has been attempted. It is a pity that this useful dissertation is not commonly accessible to the scholarly public.

Fortunately, we can collect from his mentioned letter some information about his «Oriental Principles». He says: *wa-lī fī l-uṣūl al-mašriqīya gauṣ 'azīm fī t-taškīk tumma fī l-kašf* «In my 'Oriental Principles' there is a deep immersion into hidden problems and their intuitive solution». The last expression, namely *al-kašf*, is as well as its synonym *al-mušāhada* «insight», used in Avicenna's last works, also a technical term of Sohrawardī's theosophy as well as of the islamic mysticism. Mme Goichon in her «Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sina (Avicenna) renders Avicenna's definition of the *mušāhada* as follows: «quant aux intuitions, al-mušāhadāt, elles sont comme les choses connues par les sens: ce sont les propositions par lesquelles nous acquérons seulement un assentiment venant du sens, comme notre jugement que le soleil existe et qu'il éclaire, et comme notre jugement que le feu brûle. Elles sont comme des propositions relatives à la perception (mušāhada) de forces non sensibles, comme nous savons avoir une pensée, et avoir de la crainte et de la colère». It is this immediate intuitive character of Avicenna's Oriental philosophy which differenciates it from Greek philosophy. Those who seek this intuition are *ahl al-mušāhada*, or *rāsihīn fī l-hikma al-muta'ālīya* «people firmly rooted in the wisdom coming from above».

Avicenna's Oriental philosophy was transmitted to the Occident by Spanish philosophers, esp. Ibn Tufail (d. 1185) who in his book *Hayy ibn yaqzān* «Vivens filius vigilantis» included *asrār al-hikma al-mašriqīya* «secrets of Oriental philosophy». Before the 19th century, it was considered simply as a special philosophy of the Orientals. In the 19th century, A. Tholuck (1826), E.B. Pusey (1835), S. Munk (1859) until de Slane (1868) understood it as an illuminative philosophy. Derenburg (1884) interpreted it as a spiritual philosophy. A.F. Mehren in his publication of Avicenna's inedited works under the title «Traité mystique d'Avicenne» (1889-1899) treated it as a mystical philosophy. I. Goldziher (1909) returned to its explanation as «oriental»: «morgenländische» and «östliche Weisheit». But L. Gauthier, M. Horten (1912 and 1913), Asím Palacios (1914) and Cl. Huart (1916) returned again to the concept of illuminative philosophy. E. Gilson in his «Histoire de la philosophie du Moyen-Age» (1944) treated it again as a mystical philosophy.

C.A. Nallino in «Filosofia orientale ed illuminativa d'Avicenna (1925, repr. 1948)[3] affirmed that Avicenna's *Mantiq al-mašriqīyīn*, published in Cairo 1910, must be the first part of his «Oriental philosophy», of which we do not know whether it was lost, or whether it was at all completely written. In fact, the MS of the Logic of the Orientals of Mašhad bears the title *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya.* But in this case, there must be a confusion of titles. Since Avicenna mentioned *al-Hikma*

3. In: Rivista degli Studi Orientali 10/1923-25, pp. 433-467; reprint in : Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti ... a cura di Maria Nallino, vol. VI, Roma-Istituto per l'Oriente 1948, pp. 218-256.

al-mašriqīya in his *K. as-šifā'*, he must have written it before the latter. How could he then have mentioned again *K. aš-šifā'* in the preface of *Mantiq al-mašriqīyīn* if this really had been part of *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya*? He says clearly at the end of this preface: *wa-mā ǧama'nā hādā l-kitāba li-nuzhirahū illā li-anfusinā - a'nī lladīna yaqūmūna minnā maqāma anfusinā - wa-ammā l-'āmmatu min muzāwilī hādā š-ša'ni faqad a'taynāhum fī Kitābi š-šifā' mā huwa katīr lahum wa-fawqa hāǧatihim* «We have composed this book only for our private demonstration, i.e. for those who agree with us. As to common public pursuing this matter, we have given them in *K. aš-šifā'* much more, and even more than they need». Accordingly, *Mantiq al-mašriqīyīn* could not have made part of *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya* mentioned in *K. aš-šifā'* and must be posterior to it. As to the question whether *mašriqīya* means «oriental» or «illuminative», Nallino decided for the former solution. Since Avicenna was an Iranian, it seemed quite logical to expect from him a philosophy or Iranian origin.

Further light on this problem was shed by M.S. Pinès in his study «La philosophie orientale d'Avicenne et sa polémique contre les Bagdadiens».[4] He seems to have touched the real basis of the problem. The best specialist of this subject, H. Corbin, who at the end of the first volume of his «Avicenne et le Récit visionnaire» (1954) in a «Post-scriptum: Recherches récentes sur la 'Philosophie Orientale d'Avicenne'» refers to this study, speaks of it with great enthusiasm and says: «L'enquête est menée d'une façon si pertinente, qu'elle nous semble aboutir à des résultats tout à fait concluants, et dont le sens est tel que nous n'avons, pour notre part, qu'à nous en réjouir».[5] We know that during the pillage of Isfahan a monumental work of Avicenna *Kitāb al-insāf*, dedicated to twenty eight thousand problems, perished, and Avicenna had neither time nor force to rewrite it. Only some fragments of it remained and were published for the first time by 'A.R. Badawī.[6] These fragments gave Pinès the clue for his solution of the problem. Avicenna divided the philosophers in two groups, *magribīyūn* «Occidentals» and *mašriqīyūn* «Orientals». Both were in the Orient: *magribīyūn* were the peripateticians of Baghdad, *mašriqīyūn* were the Iranians, to whom Avicenna as a native of the district of Bokhara also belonged. The lost *Kitāb al-insāf*, according to Pinès, ought to have contained an exposé of divergences between both philosophers mentioned; and Avicenna ought to have seized the occasion to argue against the peripateticians of Baghdad. Similarly, in his *al-Hikma al-mašriqīya*, of which we do not know exactly what it was, he should have presented this particular Iranian

4. Extrait des Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age, année 1952. Paris - J. Vrin 1953 (37 p.).

5. l.c. 314.

6. *Aristū 'ind al-'Arab*, Cairo 1947.

philosophy. This would be a sufficient reason to call Avicenna's philosophy *mašriqīya* «Oriental» and neither *mušriqīya* nor *išrāqīya* «illuminative».

H. Corbin agrees as to the name of Avicenna's philosophy, but he disagrees that there would be no connection between the «illuminative» philosophy of *Šaih al-išrāq*, Sohrawardī, and the «oriental» philosophy of *aš-šaih ar-ra'īs*, Avicenna. In Sohrawardī's *Kitāb Hikmat al-išrāq*, there are frequent references to *hokama' al-mašriqīyūn*, or simply *mašriqīyūn* or *hokamā' al-masvāriqa* «Oriental sages» as identical with *išrāqī*. And even Sohrawardī is called by Mollā Sadrā Šīrāzī šaih *atbā' al-mašriqīyīn al-muhyī rusūm hukamā' al-Furs fī qawā'id an-nur wa-z-zulma* «the sheykh of the sect of the Orientals, the animator of the doctrines of Persian sages as to the fundamental principles of Light and Darkness».[7] According to Corbin, Avicenna and Sohrawardī were on the same way of Oriental philosophy, but Sohrawardī completed it and penetrated to its Oriental source. In Corbin's opinion, the Orientalists of the last century, such as Tholück and Munk, who identified *išrāq* and «Oriental philosophy», without having known exactly Sohrawardī, had a sort of intuition of the right relation between both. Corbin thought that the term *išrāq* can be sufficiently translated neither by simple «philosophie de l'illumination» or «illuminative» nor by simple «philosophie de l'Orient» or «orientale» and proposed a synthetic term «philosophie orientale-illuminative». He also rendered Sohrawardī's *Hikmat al-išrāq* «La Théosophie de l'Orient des Lumières». It may look awkward and sound tautological, but it gives us a complete impression of that to which this Oriental philosophy tended to be from its very beginnings until it reaches its highest point in Sohrawardī's «illuminative wisdom».

According to Sohrawardī himself, this «wisdom» (*Ḥikma*) goes back to Platon, but its real founder was the ancient Iranian prophet Zoroaster,[8] whose religion has a philosophical basis. There are in fact many scholars who pointed out a parallelism of ideas between Platon and Zoroaster.[9] S. Pètrement in his book «Le

7. *K. al-asfār al-arba'a* (lithogr. ed. Tehran 1282), p. 583, l. 25, cited by H. Corbin, Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques de *Shihabaddin Yahya Sohrawardi* (Opera Metaphysica et Mystica II), Téhéran-Paris 1952, Prolégomènes, p. 7.

8. *K. Hikmat al-išrāq*, ed. Corbin, p. 157:2, cf. ibid. Prolégomènes, p. 34 with n. 74.

9. From the extremely rich literature on this subject according to the bibliographie elaborated by E. Panoussi in his dissertation (see N.2) the following works may be quoted: Benveniste, E., The Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts. Ratanbai Katrata Lectures, Paris 1929; - Bidez, J., Eos et Platon et l'Orient. Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of St. Andreas, Bruxelles 1945; id., Platon et l'Orient, Bull. Acad. Roy., Bruxelles 1938, 512-516; id., Platon, Eudoxe de Cnide et l'Orient, ibid. 1938, 125-219 and 273-319; - Bidez, J. et Cumont, F., Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque, Paris - «Les Belles Lettres» 1938; - Brandenstein, W., Iranische Einflüsse bei Platon. Miscellanea Giovani Galbiati, Fontes Ambrosiani, Univ. Napoli 1951 (3, 27); - Bréhier, E., L'histoire de la philosophie, fasc. suppl. La philosophie en Orient, rédigé par Paul Masson-

dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques et les Manichéens» says: «Je ne sais pourquoi les savants évitent avec une sorte d'horreur de représenter Zoroastre comme un philosophe..., cependant s'il y a une religion abstraite et philosophique, c'est la sienne».[10] He compares Platon's evolution in respect to the Zoroastrian religion with St. Augustin's evolution in respect to Manichaeism. He also points out that Platon's doctrine of virtues and his theory which opposes necessity to God have been borrowed from Zoroaster. R. Reitzenstein also dedicated a comparative study to «Plato and Zarathustra» (1927). Werner Jäger compared Platon's interest in Zoroaster with Schopenhauer's interest in Indian philosophy: «Die Zarathustrabegeisterung der Akademie war ein Rausch, ähnlich der philosophischen Wiederentdeckung der indischen Philosophie durch Schopenhauer».[11]

Oursel, Paris 1926-1932; - Bremond, A., La religion de Platon d'après le Xe livre des Lois. Recherches de Sciences religieuses, 1932, 26-53; - Clemen, C., Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 1920, Giessen 1920; - Cumont, F., Die orientalischen Religionen in ihrem Einfluβ auf die europäische Kultur des Altertums, 3rd ed. Leipzig-Berlin 1923; - Delcourt, M., Orient et Occident chez Eschyle. Mélanges Bidez, Bruxelles 1934, 233-254; - Des Places, E., Platon et l'astronomie chaldéenne. Mélanges Cumont, Bruxelles 1936, 129-142; - Detienne, M., De la pensée religieuse à la pensée philosophique. La notion de daimon dans le Pythagorisme ancien, Paris 1963; - Deuβen, P., Die Elemente der Metaphysik als Leitfaden zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen sowie zum Selbststudium, zusammengestellt nebst einer Vorbetrachtung: Über das Wesen des Idealismus, 6th. ed. Leipzig 1919; - Duchesne-Guillemin, J., The Western Response to Zoroastre, Oxford 1958; - Geffcken, J., Platon und der Orient. Neue Jahrbücher 1929, 517-528; - Gladisch, A., Herakleitos und Zoroaster, Leipzig 1859; - Götze, A., Persische Weisheit in griechischem Gewande. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mikrokosmos-Idee, Zeitschr. f. Indologie und Iran 1923, 60-167; - Hopfner, Orient und griechische Philosophie. Beihefte zum Alten Orient, Leipzig 1925; Jäger, W., Aristoteles. Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung, Berlin 1928; - Kerschensteiner, J., Platon und der Orient, Stuttgart 1945; - Modi, J. H., The Influence of Iran on other countries, Bombay 1954; - Mondolfo, R., Nota sui rapporti fra la cultura e speculazione orientale e la filosofia e la scienza greca, Firenze 1932; id., Platone e il concetto unitario di cultura umana, Bologna 1953; - Pètrement, S., Le dualisme chez Platon, les Gnostiques et les Manichéens, Paris 1947: id., Le dualisme dans l'histoire de la philosophie et des religions, Paris 1940; - Pettazzoni, R., La religione di Zarathustra. Storia delle religioni II, Bologna 1920; - Przyluski, L'influence iranienne en Grèce et dans l'Inde. Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles 37/1931-32, 283-294; Puech, H. - C., L'Iran et la philosophie grecque. In: La civilisation iranienne, Paris 1952; - Reitzenstein, R., Platon und Zarathustra. Vorträge Warburg IV, 1924-25, Leipzig 1927; - Schäder, H.H., Quid Graeci de origine philosophiae a barbaris ducenda existimaverint secundum Laertii Diogenis proemium exponitur (Dissertation), Leipzig 1877; id., Der Orient und das griechische Erbe. Die Antike 4/1928, 226-265; id., Der Mensch im Orient und Okzident. Grundzüge einer eurasiatischen Geschichte, ed., Grete Schäder. München 1960; - Vierkandt, A., Der Dualismus im modernen Weltbild, Berlin 1923; - Vollgraff, W., Influences orientales dans la civilisation hellène et moderne. Mélanges Bidez 1934, 993-1005; - Wesendonk, O.G.V., Platon und der Orient, Berlin 1926; - Willmann, O., Geschichte des Idealismus, Braunschweig 1894. Already this bibliographical selection which could easily be enlarged proves how strongly the problem of Iranian influence on Greek philosophy attracted the minds of the scholars.

10. Op. cit., p. 319, cf. Panoussi, p. 41.

11. W. Jäger, Aristoteles ..., 1955^{2}, cf. Panoussi, p. 44.

There are numerous works dedicated to the study of similarities between Platon and Zoroaster. It is neither possible nor necessary to quote all of them. The dualities of good and evil, light and darkness, matter and form, *potentia* and *actus (al-quwwa wa-l-fi'l)*, love and hatred (ἔρως and ἔρις) «Sein und Dasein» (existence and essence) etc. are basic principles of all philosophy. The Iranian solution of the problem of the dualism in the world, requiring two opposite principles and, at the same time, keeping the unity and transcendence of God might have appealed to Platon and have been a temptation for him but - as H.C. Puech says - «une tentation réelle, et qui s'est faite de plus en plus forte, au fur et à mesure que le philosophe vieillissait».[12]

Scholars have carefully attempted to reveal traces of Oriental influences in Platon's Dialogues. It is not all surprising, since there are still more ancient influences in Greek philosophy than Zoroastrian, e.g. Sumerian, astronomical Chaldaean and theosophical Indian. The authors who paid attention to these problems can be divided into four groups: (1) those who exaggerate Oriental influences on Greek thinking, (2) those who seek a common basis and mutual influences for Indian, Iranian and Greek philosophical thinking (e.g. G. Dumézil, L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens, 1985), (3) those who refute Oriental influences on the creative Greek spirit (cf. Jula Kerschensteiner, Platon and Orient, 1945; A.R. Burn, Persia and the Greeks, the Defence of the West, 1962); and (4) those who dare not take any decision (e.g. O.G. Wesendonk, Platon und der Orient, 1926). It is not difficult to take a correct position in this quarrel. We know, since Hegel, that history is a dialectical process and that without a thesis and an antithesis there would be no synthesis. There is, in spite of all new contributions to human culture, no absolutely independent culture and civilization. The Greeks were the first Orientalists of history. They not only adopted the Semitic alphabet invented by the Phoenicians, but they also absorbed Oriental cultures, digested them and presented them to us in such an admirably new form that their different originals often become quite unrecognizable. They also preserved us much precious information about Oriental peoples and cultures which would, otherwise, have got lost. But from their very beginnings they transmitted us many Oriental thoughts in such a completely Hellenized form that we are often tempted to take them for original Greek. The greatness of the ancient Greek spirit consists exactly in that perfect assimilation of manifold Oriental ideas in a new vestment which gave birth to our Occidental civilization. There have always been and will be mutual influences between the cultures. As to the philosophy, we could say with E. Bréhier (in his «L'histoire de la philosophie en Orient, p. 120): «La réalité historique est loin de se plier docilement aux catégories que notre esprit est obligé de créer pour l'étudier. Les civilisations ne forment jamais des touts autonomes et fermés.

12. L'Iran et la philosophie grecque, p. 88. cf. Panoussi, p. 55.

Même dans l'Antiquité, les contacts entre des civilisations éloignées par la distance et par la langue se trouvaient beaucoup plus directs et nombreux qu'on ne pourrait croire». He also says: «Les historiens de la pensée ne peuvent que déplorer l'insuffisance de notre documentation sur le monde iranien, dont une connaissance plus étendue permettrait d'élucider tant de problèmes relatifs à notre culture classique» (p. 66).

We shall, therefore, not be surprised that we find Iranian doctrines in Platon's philosophy and we find them again in Avicenna's and Sohrawardī's Oriental theosophies. This continual give-and-take is the main principle of Hegel's discovery of philosophy of history. Such a synthesis as Platon's philosophical combination of Oriental thought with his own ideas might well have become to the Orientals of the Muslim centuries a welcome new thesis seeking for an antithesis which presented itself in the orthodox Islam which put Sohrawardī in the age of 36 years to death as a heretic. Nevertheless, his school continued to live and his numerous commentators sought a new synthesis.

Platon, however, returned in to the Oriental philosophy as *Aflātūn al-ilāhī* «the godly Platon», although mostly in a Plotinian version thoroughly influenced by Oriental philosophy. The Orient has taken back from the Occident that which it had given it and which was supposed to return to it. Sohrawardī considered Platon as a pillar of the illuminative philosophy. Although he knew that he was only its cultivator and transmitter, not its real founder. He and his school believed that this philosophy goes back to Zoroaster. Its method is *dawq, kašf* and *šuhūd*, all three terms being used for immediate intuitive discovery of higher truths, as opposite bo *baht*, the discursive, argumentative method of the Peripatetician philosophy. It is achieved through illumination which is simply given from above, it is wisdom of faith, not of argumentation; the means by which it is achieved are *išrāq, ilhām* and *wahy* «illumination, revelation and inspiration».

Although Sohrawardī knew that his «illuminative theosophy» is of Iranian origin, he considered himself - as well as Plotinos and Greek and Islamic Neoplatonicians - as disciple of Platon. Platon was a poet- philosopher, and inspiration plays an enormous rôle in his philosophy. Sohrawardī says of him in the preface of *K. Hikmat al-išrāq* as follows: «*wa-mā dakartuhū min 'ilmi l-anwār... wa-huwa dawqu imāmi l-hikmati wa-ra'īsihā Aflātun sāhibi l-ayyidi wa-n-nūr*» Whatever I mentioned from this science of (spiritual) lights... is (based on) the intuitive method of the leader of wisdom and its president, Platon, possessor of authority and light».[13] And he continues: *wa-kadā min qablihī min zamāni wālidi l-hukamā' Hermes ilā zamānihī min 'uzamā'i l-hukamā'i wa-asātini l-hikma mitlu Anbādoqles wa-Fītāğōrās wa-gayruhumā* «And it is similarly the method before his time from the father of the scholars Hermes until the time of great scholars and

13. ed. Corbin, p. 10: 11-13.

pillars of wisdom, like Empedokles, Pythagoras and others».[14] Further on he says that the words of these ancient scholars are symbolical and irrefutable. If one pays attention only to their external form of their doctrines, their intention cannot be understood, but the symbol cannot be refuted. This is the basis of the Oriental doctrine about Light and Darkness which was already professed by ancient Persian scholars like Djamāsp, Frašaoštar, Bozorğmehr and others before them. It is neither the unbelief of the *Mağūs*, nor the heresy of the Manichaeans nor anything containing polytheistic tendencies. This wisdom was always present in the world and will always be. The difference between the ancient and modern scholars consists only in expressions and different uses of explanation and symbolical language. All of them accept a threefold world and one God.[15] As to Aristoteles, Sohrawardī recognizes his greatness, importance, deep penetration and exactness, but all this ought not to be exaggerated to such a degree that he should be placed above his teachers, some of which brought heavenly books and laws, like Agathodaemon, Hermes and (his servant and pupil) Esqlīnos.[16]

Similarly to Avicenna, Sohrawardī also wrote books on both the peripatetician and the Oriental-illuminative philosophy. He says: *wa-sāhibu hādihi l-ustūr kāna šadīda d-dabbi 'an tarīqat al-massa'iyyin... wa-kana musirran 'alà dalika lawlā in kāna ra'à burhāna rabbihī* «The author of these lines used to be a hard defensor of the peripatetician doctrine... and he would have persevered in it if he had not been a clear proof from his Lord».[17] He continues: «If somebody does not believe it and is not satisfied with this argument, he has to practice spiritual exercises and go to the school of the masters of the vision (*mušāhada*). Maybe he will have an ecstasis, he may see the light shining in the world of Might and he may see the angelical entities and lights which Hermes and Platon contemplated and the paradisiac irradiations, the sources of *horra* and *rāy* (i.e. the Light of Glory and the Sovereignty of Light) of which Zoroaster reported and to which the blessed faithful Kay-Khosrow was raptured and observed them. And all Persian sages agree about it to such a degree that, according to them, water has a prototype in the Kingdom (*al-malakūt*) which they call *Khordād*, as well as the trees which they call *Mordād*, fire which they call *Ordībehesht*. And those are lights to which Empedocles and others refer».[18]

The passage just quoted is interesting in many respects. It tells us how Sohrawardī as a peripatetician came to the idea of his illuminative wisdom and

14. ibid., l. 13f.
15. ibid., p. 10f.
16. ibid., p. 11: 8-11. *Esqlīnōs* is a corruption of Asklepios (through wrong use of diacritical dots اسقلينوس < اسقليبيوس).
17. ibid., p. 156: 10f.
18. ibid., p. 156 ff., cf. Corbin, ibid. Prolégomènes, p. 33 ff.

which were his main sources. Unfortunately, he does not say clearly enough in what the proof of his Lord (*burhān rabbihī*) consisted, but his commentators explain it as an extatic vision in which he saw tha world of the pure lights corresponding to the world of Platonic ideas. We have either to believe it or to practice spiritual exercises in order to be able to reach a similar visionary state. But he thought that it may be possible to everybody who intentionally goes to the school of *mušāhạda*.

Plenty of Persian expressions in this passage and references to Old Persian names clearly point out Sohrawardī's primary source, the Zoroastrianism, rather than Hermes, Platon and Empedocles. The attribute of «paradisiac irradiations» *al-adwā' al-mīnowīya* is formed from Persian word *mīnū*, a synonym of *ferdows* «paradise», and this word is in no way commonly used in Arabic. But especially interesting and instructive is *yanābī' al-horra wa-r-rāy* «sources of the Light of Glory and the Sovereignty of Light». The copyists and commentators did no more understand these expressions and they took the last word for Arabic *ra'y* «opinion» and provided it with a *hamza*. Even Qutb-ad-dīn Šīrāzī explained it as a singular of *ārā'*. But in that case it would make no sense in connection with *horra*. Both words are attested in the Avesta and are also used together. *Horra* goes back to Avestic *xvarnah* which means «Glory, Majesty, Splendour, Magnificence, Aureola».[19] Already Darmesteter explained it «comme l'auréole de lumière et d'inspiration divine qui descend sur les saints, est le principe céleste qui donne à celui qui en est investi la puissance, la vertu, le génie, le bonheur; c'est la fortune divine».[20] The second word, *rāy*, with similar meanings, retained its original Avestic form. Both expressions, *rāy* and *xvarnah*, are used in the Avesta as a hendiadys «magnificence and light of Glory». It is significant that Sohrawardī used these old Avestic expressions with their original meaning, whereas his commentators, although still close to his time, misunderstood them. We may conclude with H. Corbin,[20a] that he had direct access to authentic Zoroastrian sources.

But apart from Greek and Old Persian Sages, he had also other Oriental sources. The dualistic doctrine of Light and Darkness was spread in the whole Near East. We find it in the writings of the sect of Qumran, in the prologue of the Gospel of John, it is the basic idea of Mandaean religion, of Manichaeism and of many Gnostic systems and esoteric groups.

All these syncretic Oriental religious must have appealed to Sohrawardī when he was working on his doctrine of illumination. Sometimes he might also have tried to hide some of his sources which were considered as heretical. That seems to be why he said in the introduction to *Hikmat al-išrāq* that this doctrine is

19. Zend-Avesta II, 615, quoted by Corbin, l.c., 36 n. 77.
20. Corbin, l.c. Prolégomènes, p. 35-38.
20a. *ibid.*

neither the unbelief of the Magians, namely the Zoroastrians, nor the heresy of the Manichaeans. On the other side, he argued that this doctrine was always present in the world and represented by the pillar of wisdom, such as the father of scholars, Hermes, Empedocles, Pythagoras and the leader of wisdom Platon, as well as ancient Persian sages before them. Nevertheless, it did not help him. He was put to prison by Muslin fanatics, condemned of heresy and put to death at the age of 36 years, which prevented him from further elaboration and elucidation of his doctrine in which many things remain unclear.

In the passage quoted above which abounds with Iranian expressions there are also two Aramaic abstract nouns which passed into Arabic: *ğabarūt* and *malakūt*. Both are used of the World of Light. The language of the Gnosis on the Asiatic continent was Aramaic. As *ğabarūt* and *malakūt* were borrowed into Arabic, their use alone would not suffice to prove that Sohrawardī was especially acquainted with the technical vocabulary of Aramaic gnosis. But there seems to be a proof that he accepted a topography of the celestial world which seems to go back to an Aramaic gnostic source which is unknown to us and makes an insolvable problem.

In the chapter *Fī ahwāl as-sālikīn* (IX) he says that those who follow the leading light (*an-nūr al-mudabbir*) will walk on water and air, they will ascend to the heaven with their bodies and reach the eighth climate *alladī fīhī Ğābalaq wa-Ğābaras wa-Hūrqalyā dāt al-'ağāyib*.[21] The first two names are attested also in their original Aramaic status emphaticus *Ğābalqā wa-Ğābarsā* in the commentaries. The third name has a perfectly Aramaic form consisting of a proper name and a participle of the verb QLY «to burn»: *qālyā* «burning». Much useless speculation was dedicated to the problem of these three names, esp. to the last one. I was asked by H. Corbin when he was preparing his edition of *Hikmat al-išrāq*, as well as later by M. Mo'īn, the editor of the Persian encyclopedia *Logat-nāme-ye Dehhodā*, about the possibility of its derivation from Aramaic. Corbin was especially interested whether it could be found somewhere in Mandaean writings. This is, unfortunately, not the case, but the name may quite well derive from Mandaic. Since this phantastic city is supposed to be in the highest place of the World of Light above the seventh heaven in the so-called eighth celestial climate, its name could have been meant to express the greatest intensity of light and could, therefore, have well corresponded to a Mandaic **anhūr qālyā* «the burning light» with aphaeresis of the initial *an-*. Such an expression is, of course, not attested in Mandaean writings, but it would be possible and gives the best formal possibility to explain this name. As a proper name, it could have been used in the absolute state, in which it frequently occurs in Mandaic.[22] It would, indeed, be surprising if

21. ed. Corbin, 254; 9f.
22. See R. Macuch, Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic (Berlin 1965), 386: 17, cf. E.S.

Sohrawardī, in whose theosophy light plays an essential and basic rôle had not been acquainted with the Mandaean doctrine of *ālma danhūra* «the World-of-Light». At any rate, his information seems to come from an oral source. He might have heard the name from a Mandaean priest who could have designated him the highest region in the World-of-Light as *(a)nhūr qālyā* «the burning light», i.e. the place where light comes to existence. At Sohrawardī's time, Mandaean priests paid much attention to their doctrines. The so-called secret Nasoraean scrolls in postclassical Mandaic were written approximately at this time.

But there are also many other hypothetical explanations of *hūr qalyā*. M. Mo'īn was very enthusiastic about its explanation from Hebrew *hebel qarnayim* «steam, or vapour of rays of light» which was suggested to him by a Jewish rabbi in Tehran. He published an article on it in Revue de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Téhéran, discussed it at large in a long annotation in his edition of *Borhān-e qāte'*, and his suggested derivation from Hebrew was also taken over to the Persian encyclopedia *Logat-nāme-ye Dehhodā*, of which he was the editor. This explanation was commonly accepted by Persian scholars. Years later, I discussed this matter whit Mo'īn, and he agreed that *hūr qalyā* would be a very bad mutilation of Hebrew *hebel qarnayim*, whereas Mandaic *anhūr qālyā* corresponds to it almost literally. The first syllable *an-* could quite easily have been affected by aphaeresis, as Sohrawardī did not know Mandaic and might have thought of Persian *hūr*, an ancient synonym of *hūr* and *horšīd* «the sun». The word was used in this sense already by Ferdowsī and other Persian poets after him. Ferdowsi says:

hodāwand-e māh o-hodāvand-e hūr
hodāwand-e rūz o-hodawand-e zūr

«God of the moon, God of the sun.
God of the day, God of the night».

Similarly other Persian poets Manūčehrī, Asadī, Neẓāmī, Anwarī, Sa'dī etc.[23] One could also think of this Persian *hūr*, which exactly corresponds to the first word of *hūr qalyā*, rather than of Hebrew *hebel*, which corresponds to it neither formally nor materially. But why should a Persian word have been followed by an Aramaic participle *qālyā*? The most probable solution of the problem is that the first word was Mandaic *anhūr* misunderstood as Persian *hūr*. Mo'īn agreed to my proposal and added it to his collection of - as he said - «thousand hypotheses» about the derivation of this enigmatic word.

This seems to be the highest notion of Sohrawardī's World-of-Light, with which he dared to transcend the seventh celestial sphere. Such a notion would have deserved to be explained by the author himself instead of having been left

Drower - R. Macuch, A Dictionary of Mandaic (Oxford 1963) s.v. *nhura*.

23. See *Logat-nāme-ye Dehhodā* s.v. *hūr*.

enigmatical. His commentators are in no way unanimous as to its conceptual meaning. Most of them took it for the Platonic world of forms and ideas, although they did not know what to do with its topographical aspect completed by the two other names, *Ǧābalqā* and *Ǧābarṣā*. They meant that *Hūr qalyā* is this world of ideas itself, whereas *Ǧābalqā* and *Ǧābarsā* represent its land. That is why it is called the eighth climate.[24]

Sheikh Ihsānī in *Kitāb az-ziyāra* meant that man has two bodies, a physical and an ideal (pneumatical). Whereas the former returns to its elements after death, the latter remains. Its homeland is *Hūr qalyā*, the land of ideas, where nothing vanishes. In order to save the resurrection, preached by the religion, he makes a useless excursus about the relation of both bodies after death and means that the dissolved physical bodies will return to their ideal bodies which are called *hūr-qalyā'ī* as belonging to the supreme reign from which everything comes and to which everything returns. In these bodies they will be either recompensed or punished, go either to the paradise or to the hell.[25]

There is also an opinion that *Hūr qalyā* is an intermediary state between the corporealities and idealities and, as such, it goes back to the name of Heracleitos (of Ephesus).[26] It would be hard to imagine a greater violation of the name of an innocent philosopher in order to attach it to a notion of which nobody exactly knows what it ought to mean.

As to the other two names, *Ǧābalqā* and *Ǧābarsā* (and variants), the notions of which seem to be subordinate to *Hūr qalyā*, both are legendary cities, one in the extreme East, the other in the extreme West, similarly to the Biblical *Gōg* and *Māgōg* (Ez. 38f.) and the Qur'ānic *Yāǧūǧ* and *Māǧūǧ* (18_{93}, 21_{96}) based simply on the similarity of sound and its partial difference. This play with sounds and words is very ancient. It was expected to produce a magical effect upon the minds. Both names may be older than the Islam and are attested in its earliest traditions. Imām Hasan ought to have said in a sermon: *ayyuhā n-nās law talabtum ibnan li-nabiyyikum mā bayna Ǧābaras ilà Ǧābalaq la taǧidūhū gayri wa-gayr ahī* «Oh, people, if you sought a son for your Prophet between *Ǧābaras* and *Ǧābalaq* (i.e. between West and East), you would find none except me and my brother».[27] Both cities have thousand gates and each gate has thousand watchmen.[28] Sohrawardī could hardly have found better names for both extremities of his imaginary celestial world than these two legendary cities. The principle of the Tabula Smaragdina attributed to the «Father of Scholars», Hermes: «That which is above equals that

24. ibid. s.v. *hūr-qalyā*.
25. ibid.
26. ibid.
27. ibid. s.v. *Ǧābaras*.
28. ibid., s.vv. *Ǧābaras* and *Ǧābalaq*.

which is down, and that which is down equals that which is above», was certainly known to him. Therefore, he expected a perfect parallelism of the celestial world with the imaginations and legendary representations of the terrestrial one.

Sohrawardī's illuminative theosophy is a syncretic system and its sources are very manifold. Apart from the mentioned Hermetic, Platonic, Neoplatonic, Zoroastrian and Gnostic sources, he was greatly influenced by the Ismailian doctrines and the encyclopedical work of the Brothers of Purity, *Rasā'il Ihwān as-Safā'*, which is a real basis of Oriental philosophy. There is the same inclination to intuitive wisdom and disinclination to discursive knowledge like in Sohrawardī's philosophy. The Orient always tented more to mysticism than to realism. Both Avicenna and Sohrawardī wrote also books on peripatetician philosophy, but they were not satisfied by it; their real domain was Oriental philosophy. They considered the former only as a preparatory stage which does not disclose the whole truth; it is only knowledge of this world, and they were seeking eternal wisdom. Plenty of Oriental religions and legends which they understood symbolically and, therefore, held them for indisputable, gave them rich material for their theosophical superconstructions. A symbol cannot be refuted, it ought to be deciphered. We cannot and need not believe the myths and legends they reported. They themselves took neither *Hayy ibn Yaqzān*, nor the legendary bird *Sīmorg*, nor the two heroes *Salmān* and *Absāl* mentioned by Avicenna at the end of his *K. al-išārat wa-t-tanbīhāt* for real historical beings but only for symbols chosen to express the ideas they had in mind. But the more mystical is a doctrine and the more symbolical is its language, the more difficult it is to be understood.

As a conclusion we may say that the philosophy of *Ihwān as-safā'* as well as Avicenna's personal philosophy and theosophy are «oriental» but not yet «illuminative» in the sense in which this term may be applied only to *Šaih al-išrāq as-Sohrawardī* who is the founder of this theosophy which is both «oriental and illuminative». The language of all three is sometimes mysterious and enigmatic, but Sohrawardī surpasses them in this respect. His commentators, even those who were close to his time, did not fully understand him. It is a pity that this enthusiastic and productive thinker was executed at the age of thirty six years as a heretic and was given no possibility of expanding and explaining his doctrine which, in spite of that, had an enormous influence.

Rudolf Macuch

THE ARISTOTELIAN CATEGORIES AND THE PROBLEM OF ATTRIBUTES IN ISLAMIC THEOLOGY

The impact of Aristotelian categoiies on Islamic theology is still an open question. Whether there was such an impact or not requires a new approach to Islamic theology. Nowhere has ever been an attempt to read the dispute of attributes, for example, in the light of the difference between the various systems of categories which were known in the Islamic world, although their impact might be clearly expected, in so far as, both the dispute over the attribute and the different doctrines of categories deal ultimately with one and the same thing *i.e.* the types of being.

The traditional attitude in approaching Islamic theology in Western and Eastern works lays the clame, which had been repeated many times, that the translations of Creek texts had offered the Muslims a new system of thought which challenged the Islamic doctrine basically and which the Muslims had to adopt in defence of their doctrine, but nowhere has the doctrine of categories, as an example of that impact, been examined in interpretation of the problem of the attributes.

This paper is just an attempt to call the attention to the importance of reconsidering the relation between the different systems of categories and different doctrines of God's attributes in Islamic theology. Unfortunately the writer is not in a position to furnish a suitable introduction about the history of the doctrines of the categories in Islamic thought, although this may be a very essential point in the study. Nevertheless nothing would prevent a forward attempt in the subject to confine itself to investigating the impact of the categories on the problem of attributes through the similarities of both systems of thought in affirming the being and its types.

The reader of this paper will find us ascribing a certain system of categories to a certain thinker or school of theology, for this we do not have any evidence except the fact that both systems maintained the same attitude in offering the different types of being. We leave the historical evidence, which would prove that this or that school had studied directly or indirectly this or that system of categories to further and more original study.

The correspondence which we maintain, throughout this paper, between substance and other categories on one hand, Essence and attributes on the other, must not be surprising to some readers who would hesitate to accept any comparison between Essence and substance, following the Muslim theologians who have never ceased to repeat that God is not substance or accident. Their assertion is true in so far as every substance must be spatial and every spacial is not free from motion or rest in its space and what is not free from contingent is itself a contingent as Ghazālī has put it.[1] But the correspondence between substance and Essence, as maintained in this paper originates from the fact that both of them are the basic type of being which has certain relation with its qualities, which are called the categories in logic or metaphysics and the attributes in theology.

Nevertheless a man like Ghazālī would accept logically to call God as substance if the latter does not imply spaciousness and if language or religion permits.[2] This tendency to accept a logical term as a name for God, on part of Ghazālī, reveals a certain philosophical attitude which percieves a certain similarity between substance and Essence, something which had resulted under a certain system of categories as we shall see later.

In this paper we deal with three aspects of the problem:

1. The categories in the Islamic thought.
2. The problem of the attributes in Islamic theology.
3. The interpretation of this problem in the light of different systems of caregories known in the Islamic world.

The categories, as the highest genera, are undefinable, because we reach definition through the genus. Each genus is defined through the higher one till we reach a genusless genus whose concept is the simpliest one. The highest genera, in general, are used as defining genera, but themselves cannot be species for higher genera to be definable. The categories are the most important ones of these highest genera.[3] The object of the study of the doctrine of categories, in general, is the

1. Ghazālī, *Al Iqtisād*, p. 38 - Ankara 1962.
2. *Ibid*. Hilli later accepts substance as an attribute of God. P. 78 *Anwār Al Malakūt*. Tahran 1338 He says:

الجوهر يقال على معان: ... الثاني ذات الشيء وحقيقته والله تعالى ذات وحقيقة لأنه يحقق كل حقيقة فيكيف ينفى عنه ما ثبت لكل حقيقة فهو جوهر بهذا المعنى.
الثالث: الموجود لا في موضوع والله تعالى جوهر بهذا المعنى عند القائلين بكون وجوده زائدا على ماهيته.

3. Nashar, *Al Manṭiq Al Sūrī*, p. 155, Cairo 1955.

study of the ontological relations of things. From this point of view an established theory of categories can present a complete philosophical system and that is why we find the philosophers have had their doctrine of categories from an early time.

The first attempt to formulate a doctrine of categories was perhaps done by Plato. He spoke of five categories: existence, rest, movement, sameness and otherness. Existence for these categories is the highest genus. Plato's categories were dealing with the metaphysics only while Aristotle's categories are also logical. The Aristotelian doctrine of categories, though it appears a treatise on predication, has its relation with his metaphysics, which makes it wholly Aristotelian in spirit, even if not certainly of Aristotelian authorship. From a logical point of view the non-substantial categories are the result of his attempt to list the kinds of types of predicate under which all the properties and relations that may be ascribed to substances can be classified.[4] But substance is the first and chief category, «for everything that can be said must be said directly or indirectly of something in this category, something whose existence is independent of what is predicated of it».[5]

The idea of predication has drawh the attention of the scholars who took the theory of categories as mere theory of predication. According to Russell «Substance, in a word, is a metaphysical mistake, due to transference to the world - structure of the structure of sentences composed of a subject and a predicate».[6] Trendelenburg also held that the distinctions between the categories are derived from grammatical distinctions. He clamed that the study of the forms of language was one of Aristotle's main guides in the formulation of the doctrine «the doctrine of the categories brings together things which grammar separates, and separates things which grammar brings together».[7]

Ross also holds that it is «highly probable that the doctrine began as an attempt to solve certain difficulties about the predication which had troubled the Megaric school and other earlier thinkers. Aristotle's aim seems to have been to clear up the question by distinguishing the main types of meaning of the words and phrases that can be combined to make a sentence».[8]

Whatever was the object of Aristotle in his categories, there is an important result that came out of his attempt which was a main cause for the problem of attributes in the Islamic theology, that is because in formulating his doctrine, he arrived at a new classification of the main types of entity involved in the structure of reality. Thus the categories worked as a list of the widest predicates which are pre-

4. Renford Bambrough, *The Philosophy of Aristotle*, p. 133. Mentor Book.
5. *Ibid*.
6. Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, p. 212. Unwin 1961.
7. Ross, *Aristotle*, p. 22.
8. *Ibid*. p. 23.

dicable essentially of the various nameable entities, *i.e.* which tell us what kind of entity at the bottom they are.[9]

This classification presented a challenge to the principle of unity of the Essence as an entity and open the door for the attributes to enjoy the status of nameable entities which the Mu'tazilites could not tolerate.

The dispute about the nature of his categories whether it is metaphysical or logical has originated from the fact that his theory belongs to both. On the one hand the categories are ultimate elements of proposition, on the other, they are the general ideas, the general types of the being and the expressions of the real particularization of existence.

The categories being universal concepts, are independent and free from any relation. In this sense they differ also from Plato's categories *i.e.* in being separate from each other and lacking a higher genus that can hold all of them together which is existence in Plato's theory.[10]

This conceptual separation among the categories had also its effect in Muslim conception of the attributes as we shall see later.

The Stoic also had their doctrine of the categories. According to Chrysippus, who stood the third among the early presidents of the Stoic school after Zeno and Cleanthes, the categories are only four:

1. Subject or substratum.
2. The essential qualities.
3. The non-essential qualities, belonging to the object, taken in itself, designating a manner of being.
4. The other group of non-essential qualities, these qualities that the object possesses through its relation to other objects.[11]

An essential difference between the Aristotelian doctrine and the Stoic doctrine provided a different influence and a different conception of the problem of attributes in Islamic theology, because the Stoic categories are not like the ten of Aristotle, an enumeration of summa genera, each of co-ordinate value with the others, but are arranged in definite scheme or graded system, in the relations of superordination and subordination... the second presupposing and attaching to the first, the third presupposing and attaching to the first plus the second, the fourth presupposing and attaching to the first, plus the second and the third.[12]

The substance in the Stoic doctrine differs from the Aristotelian substance where the logical subject is almost identified with the metaphysical substance.

9. *Ibid.*
10. Nashār, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
11. E.R. art. Chrysippus, by: W.L. Davidson.
12. *Ibid.*

A careless examination of the two doctrines may give the impression of a possible similarity between them, in so far as in both cases one can divide the categories into two classes:

1. Substance.
2. Its qualities or non-substantial categories.

The fact is that substance or substratum for the Stoic is the matter without qualities. Qualities are the principles which determine the differences among matters and both are bodily categories, that is to say they are the active and the passive principles of which the body is composed, and the two categories together correspond to the Aristotelian substance. Beside that, the two non-bodily categories of the Stoic (the third and fourth) do not correspond either to the nine non-substantial categories of Aristotle, because in his theory the latter are taken as ultimate principles of particularization while the Stoic hold that the individual *i.e.* (substratum plus its essential qualities) is the whole reality but his external relation and condition has nothing to do with its essence.[13]

Plotinus had also his doctrine of categories. There are ten categories in his doctrine, five belong to the intellectual realm and five belong to the sensible world, but his categories, as far as I can see, did not have that influence on Muslim's conception of the attributes which we see of Aristotelian and Stoic categories.

There is no doubt that the Muslims had known the systems of categories that existed before. Concerning the place and nature of the categories Nashār referred to three different attitudes:

1. Those who treated the categories as a branch of logic like Ibn Rushd.
2. Those who considered it belonging to metaphysics as Ibn Sinā, who also dealt with the categories as problem of logic in his *Shifā'* and *Najāh*.
3. Those who tried to free logic from the metaphysical problems to be purely formal. This trend represents the late works on logic.[14]

The Muslims did not add new categories neither to the Aristotelian one nor to the Stoic one although they doubted the Aristotelian list to be comprehensive. Some following Aristotle, considered them ten, some considered them four imitating the Stoic system but not exactly. These four categories are substance, quality, quantity and relation, the latter comprising all other categories.[15]

Al Suhrawardī provided a new system of categories composed of five categories[16] but this did not influence the dispute about the attributes with which we are concerned now.

13. Amin Uthman, *Al Falsafa Al Ruwāqiyyah*, p. 98. Cairo 1945.
14. Nashār, *op. cit.* 159.
15. *Ibid.*

The doctrine of categories has caused at least two major problems in Islamic thought, *i.e.* the problem of God's attributes in theology and the problem of word and meaning (اللفظ والمعنى) in Arabic literature. Concerning the second problem we find some writers inclining to imagine the relation between the word and the meaning in the light of the possible conceptual multiplicity between the substance and its qualities as nameable separate entities. Just as the non-substancial categories have their conceptual entities as high genera which stood in a co-ordinate relation with the substance, they imagined the meaning to have its separate entity which stood in co-ordinate relation with the words.

There were some writers who emphasized the separation between word and meaning as two different things. Some emphasized the first and others the second. Those who stood for the words as every thing were almost identifying the word with the meaning as one thing in a way similar to the Stoic identification of substratum and its quality and the Mu'tazilites doctrine of attributed.

Some imagined the relation between the word and the meaning similar to the relation between the body and the soul like Ibn Rashīq (Al 'Umdah, V.I. p. 80), others emphasized the words as basic criterion like Al Jāhiz.[17] But some others spoke about the relation between the word and the meaning in terms of the relation between matter and form like Qudāmah b. Ja'far.[18]

This is not an attempt to deny the existence of other factors involved in this differentiation between the word and the meaning. It is not even an attempt to say that this was the only understanding of the relation between them, but there is no doubt that in presenting the problem that way, some writers were under the influence of a certain system of categories.

Another theory, in Arabic criticism, might be representing the doctrine of the stoic categories *i.e.*, the theory of grammatical structure. There, the artificial distinction between the word and the meaning is dropped in favour of another principle which 'Abd Al Qāhir Al Jurjānī called Nazm (النظم). According to him the individual words (noun, verbs and prepositions) cannot be composed into poetry or prose without a certain consideration to the Nazm which is the careful commitment to the meanings of grammar and its rules.[19] Jurjānī's insistance on the principle of relation among words as ultimate criterion for the beutiful style and as the highest proof of inimitability of the Quran beside the perfect choice of words is without doubt an elaboration of the Stoic doctrine. Just as the unique type of being for a Stoic philosopher is essentially one: the substratum plus its qualities which acquires other qualities through its relation with other beings.

16. *Ibid.*
17. Al Jāhiz, *Al Hayawān*, V.I, p. 40.
18. Qudamah b. Ja'far, *Naqd Al Shi'r*, p. 13, Cairo 1948.
19. Abd Al Qahir, *Dala'il Al I'gaz*, p. 368.

Abd al Qāhir spoke of words as unique individuals with certain qualities which may render certain beautiful form through their relations with others words.

* * *

The categories had nore influence on the problem of attributes. The historians of Islamic theology are usually puzzled when they face this problem. Some incline to believe that the problem was raised under the tendency of some Muslims to describe God's attributes in corporeal and anthropomorphic way. The *Rawāfid* and *Ghulāh*, being unsincere, simple or ignorant Muslims, ascribed human characteristics to God and imagined his attributes similar to human being. The historians usually quote here Baghdadī, Shahristānī, Rāzī and others who named certain sects in this connection like *Ghulāh* and *Saba'iyya*. This was the first group involved in the problem of attributes. Another group was some traditionalist Muslims, libelled as *Hashwiyyah* by their opponents, who insisted to ascribe to God his attributes as something different from his Essence, which the Mu'tazilites resisted. The Mu'tazilites were the third group involved in the problem. The common idea about their attempt is said to be a defence of the principle of unity and the resistance of the idea of anthropomorphism. But the very statement of Wāsil b. 'Atā', which is considered to be the earliest assertion of the Mu'tazilites' view, reveals that his motive was more than that, because his basic argument was that whoever affirms an eternal idea or attribute affirms two Gods. This attitude cannot be understood neither just as an extreme reaction to anthropomorphism, as some scholars want us to believe,[20] nor even an imitation to Jahm b. Safwān's view as Shahristānī's statement suggested to some scholars.[21]

Other historians felt that the problem was new to the Islamic thought. They tried to relate it to greek doctrines but as far as I know they missed the point since they disregarded the categories as the main cause of the dispute. An example of this attempt is found in Al Ash'arī's statement concerning Abū Al Hudhayl Al 'Alāf, who according to Al Ash'arī, had taken his idea about Essence from Aristotle who said «God is pure knowledge and pure power», an idea which 'Allāf admired, adopted and asserted that his knowledge is his Essence and his power is his Essence.[22] The fallacy of Ash'arī's argument here is very clear because what is understood from the Aristotelian statement refers to the fact that nothing of God's attributes is in the state potentiality while what is understood from 'Allāf's state-

20. Taftāzanī, Abu Al Wafa, *Dirasat Fī Al Falsafa*, p. 57, Cairo 1907.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.* p. 58, referring to *Maqālāt Al Islāmiyyīn*, p. 48.

ment is something different. However, there is no doubt among all theologians and philosophers that God is knowing, willing, speaking etc, but their disagreement concerned only whether these attributes are:

1. The very Essence,
2. Something different from the Essence,
3. Neither the Essence nor something different.[23]

1. The first was asserted by the Mu'tazilites and the philosophers. The latters, maintaining the identification between the essence and attributes, did not mean to say that the Essence is an essence, the attribute is an attribute and the first is the very second or vice versa, but they meant something else. As Mohamed 'Abduh has pointed out, they claimed that, since God, per se, is independent from anything else, other than his Essence, and since his essence qua essence, is free from any shortcoming it is necessary that his Essence, qua essence, be most perfect.

Thus the Essence is conceived in such a way that it would be if it had the Attributes.[24]

For a philosopher, this is more deanthropomorphic to God than to speak of excess attributes.

As for the Mu'tazilites who held a similar position, the attributes for them are like mental consideration which has no external reality

من الاعتبارات العقلية التى لا وجود لها فى الخارج

Both philosophers and Mu'tazilites argued that if the attributes were in excess and acquired an external existence, qua attributes, they would have to subsist in the Essence, since it is impossible for the attributes to subsist per se...

And what is impossible to subsist per se is impossible to exist until it finds the locus in which it subsists...

Thus the existence of the locus must be prior. And since the posterior needs its prior in terms of existence, therefore, the attributes are in need of the essence to be actualized. And since the possible is that which needs something else, being that which cannot acquire by its essence anything except non-existence, but through the help of another it acquires existence, therefore the attributes would be possible.[25]

2. Those who hold that the essence is different from the attributes quoted Quranic texts which would ascribe these attributes to Him. According to them a thing is called knowing if knowledge subsists in it, as it is noticed in the concrete

23. Dawwānī, *Al 'A qai'd Al 'Adudiyyah*, Dunya, Cairo 1958, p. 278.
24. 'Abduh, *ibid.* p. 280.
25. 'Abduh, *ibid.* p. 285.

ordinary examples in the world, and the unseen can be judged in the same way.[26]

3. The third attitude was held by those who claimed that the attributes are not the Essence nor something else different, although they spoke of excess attributes. According to them, the negation of the sameness is self evident. But the negation of the otherness is established by law, custom and language, since all of these principles agree that the attribute and the attributed are not two different things. The part of anything is not to be said different from its whole nor to be identified with the whole itself as Ghazālī put it.[27]

وهكذا كل بعض فليس هو غير الكل ، ولا هو بعينه الكل

Al Ash'ari defined the otherness of the two as the state of two beings in which the non-existence of one is possible with the existence of the other.[28] This definition was rejected by the possibility supposing two eternal bodies which would be different from each other and in the same time, the non-existence of one of them is impossible with the existence of the other. Dawwānī provided another definition to avoid this criticism. According to him : The otherness of the two is found in «the two in which the non-existence of one does not necessitate the non-existence of the other».[29] Thus the otherness between the part and the whole, the attribute and the attributed could be negated.

From the above mentioned arguments we can imagine to what extent the categories influenced the dispute over the attributes. The essential difference between the Aristotelian system and the Stoic system provided the two major different attitudes toward God's attributes with certain arguments.

What would the Aristotelian doctrine say if it was applied to the problem of attributes?

Aristotelian doctrine deals with the various types of Being. Things exist according to these types which he called categories. The very suggestion of a conceptual difference between the substance as subject, and other categories as predicates, opened the way of possible duality between Essence and the attributes in Islamic theology and raised the question of otherness which we have just seen. God's essence in the Aristotelian system of categories looked like a locus or a place in which qualities can inhere. Thus the attributes appeared either as possible beings, posterior to the existence of a prior locus and in need of it, or as eternal entities creating the impossibility of the multiplicity of the eternals. Beside that, the Aristotelian categories were suggesting that the attributes, qua attributes, are the

26. Dawwānī, *ibid.* p. 300.
27. Ghazālī, *op. cit.* p. 139.
28. Dawwānī, *op. cit.* p. 309.
29. *Ibid.* p. 320.

principles of individualization. In other words what gives a thing its particular reality is its falling under one or more of these categories, presupposed by its belonging to a particular substance. The attributes there are things whose existence is independent of what is predicated of them.

On the other hand, Aristotle presented the substance also as the subject of properties, which is at the same time something distinct from all its properties. As a matter of fact, when the properties are taken away, the substance is hard to be conceived.

As Russel has pointed out: «substance, when taken seriously is a concept impossible to free from difficulties. A substance is supposed to be the subject of properties and to be something distinct from all its properties. But when we take away the properties and try to imagine the substance by itself, we find that there is nothing left. To put the matter in another way : what distinguishes one substance from another? Not difference of properties, for, according to the logic of substance, difference of properties presupposes numeral diversity between the substances concerned. Two substances, therefore, must be just two, without being in themselves in any way distinguishable. How, then, are we ever to find out that they are two?».[30]

This hypothetical distinction of the substance, regardless of its properties, was best represented by philosophers, who held that the Essence, qua essence, should be distinguished, per se, as perfect, and conceived it in such a way that it would be as if it had these attributes.

A negative reaction to the Aristotelian theory of categories, concerning the possible duality between substance and its properties can be seen best in the Mu'tazilite attempt to disregard this differentiation and claim as identification between the Essence and the attributes. The non-substantial categories, viewed by Aristotle as the ultimate principles of individualization beside the substance and as the higher genera of Being which is conceptually separate from the substance, raised the status of attributes to the level of being separate entities and created the possibility of the multiplicity of the eternals. The unity of Being as one individual free from this internal predication between substance and its qualities and as propagated by the Stoic theory, could serve the Mu'tazilite point of view in this connection. The Being, here, is determined by its essential qualities presupposed and attaching to it. The subject or substratum is only a hypothetical conception that could never be imagined free from its qualities. The individual is the whole reality and it is the unity of the subject and its qualities not by way of predication between two types of Being but actually by way of identification in the Stoic categories. Likewise, in the Mu'tazilite doctrine, the One is the whole reality and

30. Russel. *op. cit.* p. 211.

it is the unity of the Essence and the attributes or the identification between them, that gives that reality. In other words, just as the relation between the substratum and its quality is not actualized by way of predication between two nameable entities, as it is suggested by Aristotelian categories, but by way of unity between an active and passive principles, the Mu'tazilites identified attributes with the essence avoiding the Aristotelian suggestion that the relation between them is done by way of predication as two nameable entities.

As the whole reality for the Stoics is the concrete individual whose qualities are only conceived by mental considerations in relation to the substratum, the one is the whole reality for the Mu'tazilite and the attributes are only mental considerations which have no external existence.

Some Mu'tazilites even used Stoic terminology in dealing with the attributes. Abū Hāshim Al Basrī used the term *Hal* (a state) which is the third term in the Stoic categories. The state for the Stoics is the principle which, attaching to the substratum and qualities (the first and second categories), is the designated manner of Being. By adopting the term and adapting the concept Abū Hāshim Al Basrī spoke of God as essentially known, that is to say his essence has a state of Godhood and this state provides in Him four states : being powerful, knowing, being alive and existing. The state for this school is a quality belonging to an entity and it is not to be described as existent or non - existent.[31] In this particular point the Stoic impact can be seen clearly, since the state in the Stoic categories does not constitute a nameable entity that can be described as existent or nonexistent, because existence belongs only to the whole «One».

These Mu'tazilites believe that the most high Creator is powerful by virtue of that state of being powerful and knowing by virtue of state of knowing and so for the other attributes.

This attitude of Bahshamiyya is more than a reconciliatory attempt between those who affirmed the attributes and those who denied them. In my opinion, as I have mentioned, it is a positive response to the Stoic system of categories.

So far we have seen the position of those who stood against the attributes as an excess to the Essence: the philosophers and the Mutazilites. It remains only to see the impact upon those who affirmed the attributes as an excess. Those were of two categories:

1. The traditionalist Muslims who affirmed the attributes in excess to the Essence and different from it. They were mainly under the influence of Islamic traditions and paradoxically enough, their system of conceiving the relation between Essence and attributes was the only system that would fit and work out within the framework of Aristotelian categories, in terms of the principle of predication be-

31. Hilli. *Al Bāb Al Hādī 'A shr.* Tahran p. 27.

tween the substance and the categories as separate nameable entities and in terms of the multiplicity of the types of Being. There is no interpretation for this phenomenon except the fact that both systems started by transference to the world - structure of the structure of sentences composed of a subject and a predicate.

2. Those who affirmed the attributes in excess to the essence but denied both identification and differentiation between them. Those also like the Mu'tazilites were operating under the Stoic influence, but less aware of aristotelian challenge than the Mu'tazilites.

According to Ghazālī whoever asserts that God is knowing accepts simultaneously that He has knowledge, because what is conceived from He is knowing and He has knowledge is one and the same. We conceive an Essence and we conceive it in *a state* and *quality*, therefore we conceive an attribute and attributed in the same time.

In his argument against the Mu'tazilites and the philosophers he said:
«We ask the philosophers and the Mu'tazila : is what is understood from our saying: «knowing» (alim) different from our saying existent (mawjūd), or is there what points to the existence in it of something additional?

If they say, «no», then he who says a «knowing existent» is like his saying an «existent existent» and this is obviously absurd. But if there is something additional to its concept, is it (i.e. this addition) specific to the essence of the existent or not? If they say, «it is not», this would be absurd, because then it would have nothing to do with its being an attribute to the existent (i.e. God). But if it is specified by its essence (i.e. the essence of the existent), then what we mean by «knowledge» is (exactly) that which is the existent specified addition which is superadded to the existent and from which it would be better to derive for the existent, because of it, the term «knowing» ('ālim). This may help them understand the meaning. The dispute, therefore, becomes limited to the term and if I want to challenge the philosophers, I would say: is what is understood from our saying «powerful» the same as our saying «knowing» ('ālim), or is it something else? If it is exactly the same, then it is as if we have said a «powerful powerful», which is sheer repetition. And if it is something else, then that is what we mean and you have, thereby, affirmed two meanings. One of them is expressed by the term «power» (qudrah) and the other by the term «knowledge» ('ilm), thus bringing the whole dispute once more to the term. If they deny that it would follow that a knowing existent is equal to an existent existent which is impossible and if they agree that there is an excess (we would ask) does this excess belong to the essence of that existent or not? It is impossible to deny that since this will mean that this excess cannot be ascribed to it, and if it is specifically belonging to that essence, we do not mean by knowledge anything but that i.e. the specific existing excess of quality belonging to the Being».[32]

Although Ghazālī represented another school different from the Mu'tazilite, he was also under the same influence, but his reaction to the Aristotelian categories was not the same. As the Stoic could not see a substratum free from qualities and since they conceived the qualities to be essential to the substratum and attached to it, Ghazālī held that the very moment you conceive of an essence you conceive of it in a state and quality which are not separate from it.

The terms quality and state are similar to the Stoic terminology of the categories, beside that, a certain understanding of the quality in their categories was bound to suggest the Ash'arite position in their negation of the sameness and otherness altogether.

The question of otherness of the qualities suggested by the Aristotelian non-substantial categories, creating the reaction which we have seen in the Mu'tazilite doctrine of sameness, had a definite answer in the Stoic doctrine very similar to the Ash'arite answer. The Stoic philosopher would say that the qualities in his categories are not to be described neither as the very essence of Being (the one) nor as different from it. The conceptual relation between the one and its qualities would be something like the relation between the whole and its part which are not different from each other nor the same as each other. This was the argument which the Ash'arites held in their assertion of the negation of both sameness and otherness between Essence and attributes as Ghazālī has pointed out:

«If it is said:

Do you maintain that the divine attributes are something other than God?

We say:

This is wrong. When we say «Allah», we point to the essence (*dhat*) together with the attributes, not to the essence alone because the term «Allah» could not be predicated of an essence that is judged to be free from the divine attributes whereas it could not be said that jurisprudence is something other than the jurist; Zayd's hand is something other than the carpenter because part of what is included in the name would not be something other than what comes under the name. Therefore, the hand of Zayd is neither Zayd himself nor is it something other than Zayd. Rather, either way you pose it, it would be absurd. Likewise, any part is neither something other than the whole nor is it the whole itself. If it is said that jurisprudence is something other than man, this is permissible, but it is not pernissible to say that it is something other than the jurist because man is no indication of the attribute of jurisprudence. It is small wonder, therefore, that it be certainly permissible to say that the attribute is something other than the essence

32. Ghazālī, *op. cit.* p. 132.

in which the attribute subsists. Likewise, it can be said that the accident that subsists in the essence «jawhar» is something other than the «jawhar», meaning that the concept (of the term accident) is something other than the concept (of the term essence). This is possible on two conditions:

(1) That the Divine Law (Shar') does not prevent its use and this is limited to God alone.

(2) It should not be understood from the term «other» that whose existence is possible to the exclusion of that which is other than it in relation to it. If this is understood, it would not be possible to say that Zayd's blackness is something other than Zayd because (blackness) does not exist without Zayd. Therefore, the definition of the concepts and the terms is being made clear and there is no sense in dwelling on what is self-evident».[33]

The essence for Ghazālī does not stand in a coordinate value system with the attributes, allowing the latter to be in themselves summa genera in determining the types of being, but it stands in hypothetical super-ordinate relation with the attributes. The Essence for him corresponds to the substance of the Stoic which is pure existence as recepient of the qualities (if we disregard the materialistic aspect of it). And as the latter must be specifically and essentially attributed by certain qualities without any possibility of conceptual multiplicity between the first and the second, Ghazālī conceived the Essence to be essentially attributed by essential attributes without multiplicity between the two, since, in reality, the whole is one as it is in the Stoic system.

* * *

In conclusion we can say that it was the Stoic doctrine of categories which influenced the Islamic theology in the problem of attributes. The Aristotelian categories presented the challenge and the Stoic doctrine provided the answer for both Mu'tazilites and Ash'arites. This is not to say that it was a literal understanding of the Stoic doctrine, at least by the very fact that there were two different systems of theology, Ash'arite and Mu'tazilite, operating within the same framework of the Stoic doctrine. But in general both schools found the help in defending the principle of unity in the Stoic categories. This conclusion is not to be surprising if we remember that Zeno the founder of this school belonged to a Samite origin, and that his doctrine included some principles of the Samite traditions in

33. *Ibid.* p. 138.
34. Amīn 'Uthmān, *op. cit.* p. 23.

such a way that would present him nearer to the Eastern prophet than to the Greek philosopher.[34]

The Muslims knew the Stoic philosophy. The points of similarity between the Islamic and the Stoic ideas in logic, ethics and physics are numerous.[35]

Effat M. Al Sharkawi

35. Points of similarity given in some details are in *ibid.* p. 228 -247.

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN ARABIC WORKS

Aristotle (in Arabic Arisṭūṭālīs or Arisṭū) is regarded by most Arabic philosophers as the greatest representative of philosophy, «the Philosopher» par excellence (al-failasūf) or the «First Teacher» (al-mu'allin al auwal) while the second (al-mu'allim al-thānī) is al-Fārābī. According to a famous statement of Ibn Rushd (Averroes), which constitutes a triumphant admiration of Aristotle, Aristotle «was a norm in nature and an example that nature found to demonstrate the ultimate human perfection in material things». («Credo enim, quod iste homo fuit regula in natura et exemplar, quod natura invenit ad demonstrandam ultimam perfectionem humanam in materiis»).[1]

The influence of Aristotelian thought in the Arabic tradition is very important even beyond the area of Arabic philosophy (al-falsafa). Both the authentic Aristotelian works as well as those of the gnomological, apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature, which were attributed to Aristotle, placed their seal to a greater or lesser degree, not only on the «natural sciences» of Islam, that is medicine, zoology, botany, petrography, agriculture and mathematics, but also on the «apocryphal sciences»,[2] that is the Arabic alchemy (al-kīmiyā'), astrology,[3] and magic[4] as well.

1. This statement of Averroes is referred to in the third book of his commentary on the work «*Περὶ Ψυχῆς*» of Aristotle. This commentary is only preserved in the Latin translation. See, Averrois, *Commentarium Magnum* (ed. Crawford), III, 2, p. 433. Cf. Martin Grabmann, *Aristoteles im Werturteil des Mittelalters* (Mittelalterliches Geistesleben, Bd. II, München 1936), p. 83 f.

2. The «apocryphal sciences» have these names in Arabic: *al-'ulūm al-Khafīya* (see M. Manzalaoui, «The Pseudo-Aristoteleian Kitāb Sirr al-asrār. Facts and Problems», in: *Oriens* 23-24, 1974, p. 153, 1) or *al-'ulūm al-ghāmida*, cf. Ullmann, *Die Natur-und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 1, n. 1.

3. Astronomy is called in Arabic *'ilm al-hai'a* (see Ikhwān as-safā' I, 114, 12; David Pingree, art. 'ilm al-hay'a in: EI² III, 1135-1138) or *'ilm al-falak* and mainly *'ilm an-nuğūm* (see Ya'qūbī, Ta'rikh I, 151, 2; Ikhwān as-safā' I, 114, 10; Khuwārizmī, Mafātīh 210, 3; 233, 2). On the other hand Astrology is called *'ilm* [or *sinā'at*] *ahkām an-nuğūm* (or usually abbreviated to *'ilm al-aḥkām*) (see Ikhwān as-safā' I, 114 ult.), *'ilm qadāyā n-nuğūm* and also *at-tanğīm* (Huwārizmī, Mafātih 210, 3; b. Nubāta, Sarh 234, 7; Maqqarī, Nafh I, 136, 10 f/ 205, 16) and *an-niğāma*. Also instead the term *'ilm al-hai'a* many times the Greek term astrūnūmiyā was used and instead of the term *sinā'at ahkām an-nuğūm* the Greek term *astrulūğiyā* (see e.g. al-Bīrūnī, *K. ifrād al-maqāl fi 'ilm az-zilāl*, ed. Haidarābād 1367/1948, p. 69, 9 ff.; cf. S. Pines,

It is noteworthy that the name of Aristotle has been connected with Arabic alchemy. A few words must be said about this matter before we discuss in general the relationship of the Arabic Aristotelian apocrypha to the Greek pseudonymous documents.

1. Aristotle in Arabic Alchemy

The apocryphal Aristotelian literature has a close relationship with Arabic alchemy. The preserved bibliography gives an indication of the influence, not only of the genuine, but also of the apocryphal Aristotelian ideas and works in Arabic chemistry. By the word, «chemistry» we must certainly mean the word alchemy, which together with medicine was one of the first «sciences» which was introduced to the Arabic-Islamic world from the Greek world and was developed further by them.

With regard to the etymology of the word «chemistry» or «alchemy» («χημεία»-«ἀλχημεία»), many discussions have taken place. However, it appears that the word is nothing else but the ancient greek word «χυμεία» (from «χυμός»), which when taken over by the Arabs was used in accordance with the linguistic requirements of their language, took the article al- and thus produced the Arabic word al-kīmiyā'. In this form, it later became known in the Medieval Latin West,

«The Semantic Distinction between the Terms Astronomy and Astrology According to al-Bīrūnī», in: *Isis* 5 (1964) 343-349. Extensive research on Islamic Astrology outside of the known classic monography of Heinrich Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, (Leipzig 1900), see also the more recent work of Ullmann, *Die Natur – und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 271-358.

4. Magic was generally termed in Arabic *sirh*, while another term is the word *ruqya* (in the plural *ruqan*, «magical action»). In addition to these terms, there was also used the term *sīmiyā'* (*'ilm as-sīmiyā'*), which is taken from the Greek *σημεῖον, σημεῖα* and which in the passage of time received many meanings of a magical nature. The Arabic word *tilasmāt, talāsim* («talisman»), was also taken from the Greek *τέλεσμα*, the «*talisman*», i.e. the magical means which protected a person from the evil influences of the Devil and especially helped in the beneficial influence of the heavenly beings in spheres and men on earth. Generally about magic in the area of Islamic see: Julius Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, (1897^2), Berlin-Leipzig 1927, p. 159-167; Ignaz Goldziher, «Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet», in: *Orientalische Studien*, Theodor Nöldeke zum 70. Geburtstag, Bad. I, Gießen 1906, p. 309-329; the same author's *Muhammedanische Studien* I, Halle 1889, p. 34 ff.; G. van Vloten, «Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern», in: *WZKM* 7 (1893) 167-187, 233-247, 8 (1894) 59-73, 290-292; Ed. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger 1909. H.-A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charactere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Berlin-Leipzig 1930; D.-B. Macdonald, art. Sirh in: *EI*^{1} IV, 438-447; the same author's art. Sīmiyā', in: *EI*^{1} IV, 457 f.; A.J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition. Alphabetically Arranged*, Leyden 1927, see under the word Magic; E.W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London-New York 1908, p. 270 f. See also the important modern work of M. Ullmann, *Die Natur-und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 359-426.

where it was translated as alkimia-alchimia. It passed in different forms to the various languages of the West (eg. Alchemie, Alchemy, Alchimii) and returned to modern Greek in the form ἀλχημεία-χημεία.[5]

In order to appreciate the influence of Aristotelian thought on Arabic alchemy, we must first clarify the historical background. We are interested in seeing when and how alchemy started to be cultivated among the Arabs and what sources they used, when they refer to Aristotle.

The word al-Kīmiyā' with the meaning of the possibility of the change of base metals to gold and silver appears to have been known to the Arabs at least at the time of the second century after the Hegira, that is since the 8th century A.D. We can therefore conclude that the translations of the first «secular» books from a foreign language into Arabic must have included books on alchemy and medicine.

The Umayyad prince Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya (d. 704)[6] is regarded in Arabic tradition as the first Arab alchemist and father of Arabic alchemy. He (or Ps. Khālid?) knew the name of Aristotle and perhaps several of the epistles wich Aristotle had allegedly sent to Alexander the Great. Many problems have arisen,

5. A major source of information on Arabic manuscripts, collections and libraries of the East and West is found in Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schriftums* (= *GAS*), Bd. I, Leiden 1967 ff., 706-769; III 391-410; V 441-458; VI 311-466.

All interpreters are naturally not willing to agree with this interpretation. The discussion about the etymology of the word as well as the origin of the art of alchemy continues. However the older view that the word comes from the ancient Egyptian Kēme (or chāma) meaning black is obsolete. (Note the local name of Egypt Kemet = «black country» and consequently «black arts», cf. Plutarch 2, 364C (τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα *μελάγγειον* οὖσαν, ὥσπερ τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ *Χημίαν* καλοῦσιν, καὶ καρδίᾳ παρεικάζουσι». See also A. Hermann, «Das Buch *kmj. t* und die Chemie», in: *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 79 (1954) 99-106; Cf. J. Ruska, «Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie», in: *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin* 8 (1942) 305-335; on the other hand H.H. Dubs, «The Origin of Alchemy», in: *Ambix* 9 (1961) 23-36, accepts the opinion that alchemy started in China in the T'ang epoch. The opinion of Robert Eisler («Der babylonische Ursprung der Alchemie», in: *Chemiker-Zeitung* 83 and 86, 1925; also the same author's, «Die chemische Terminologie der Babylonier», in: *ZA* 37 [N.F. 3], 1927, 109-131) that alchemy started in Babylon has been rejected from Ernst Darmstaeter («Vorläufige Bemerkungen zu den assyrischen chemischtechnischen Rezepten», in: *ZA* 36 [N.F. 2], 1925, 302-304 and the same author's, «Nochmals Babylonische «Alchemy» », in: *ZA* 37 [N.F. 3], 1927, 205-213) and Julius Ruska, «Kritisches zu R. Eislers chemiegeschichtlicher Methode», in: *ZA* 37 [N.F. 3], 1927, 273-282. Other etymologies are totally baseless. About the problem of the Origin of the Arabic alchemy see now, Fuat Sezgin, in: *GAS* IV 2-299 and Manfred Ullmann, *Die Natur -und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 145-270.

6. From the Arabic sources which give imformation about Khālid we can limit ourselves here and cite the most important, i.e. the Fihrist of Ibn an-Nadīm, 354, 10f and 242, 244. For further Arabic sources, the preserved works of Khālid and their editions, as well as the remaining bibliography, see *GAS* IV, 120-126 and esp. 125-126. Cf. M. Ullmann, *op. cit.* 192-195; Julius Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten. I. Chālid ibn Jazīd ibn Mu'āwija*, Heidelberg 1924, Nachdruck Wiesbaden 1967; Gustav Weill, *Geschichte der Chalifen...*, Mannheim 1851, I, 299-490. On the Latin translations of the works of Khālid, see M. Steinschneider, Europ. Übers., No 161.

however, about the authenticity of Khalid's works. As early as 1924, Julius Ruska expressed the opinion that the real Khālid had in fact no relation with alchemy. Modern research in general follows Ruska's position. Nevertheless Khālid's role in Arabic alchemy today finds an increasing number of supporters. This is due to the recent discovery of many Arabic manuscripts.

The most important Arab alchemist according to Arabic tradition was Ğābir ibn Haiyān (8th century? A.D.). Many of his works which were translated into Latin were misinterpreted, as happened with the works of many others, and they nourished the fanciful alchemical preoccupations of the Medieval West.[7] Ğābir, however, was not only an alchemist. He was a complex and many-sided personality whose interests included medicine, physics, mathematics, philosophy and almost all the other known disciplines of his age. He left us a large amount of work and a complete system of the philosophical natural sciences.

Ğābir, (or the writers who use his name) certainly as a philosopher and alchemist developed a system of ideas which differs basically from that of Aristotle. Nevertheless, he derives his alchemical theory about «elements» from that of Aristotle about the four elements which compose the structure of matter.[8] Thus, in many books of his literary corpus, he adds quotes from the works of Aristotle and Galen.[9] In his books on chemistry, where he examines the relations of balance which exist between bodies, he used a large number of citations from the Aristotelian Organon. In his book *Kitāb-al-Bahth*, he frequently adds quotes from the Κατηγορίαι and Τοπικά usually through the Commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias. In the same book, he adds quotes from the Φυσικά, the Περὶ οὐρανοῦ

7. In the West, the name became known in Latin translations as Geber. Under his name many translations circulated during the Middle Ages: most of them which are found in Summa perfectionis Magisterii have no relation with the works of the Corpus Gabirianum. In antithesis Liber de Septuaginta and Liber misericordiae are translations from Arabic into Latin. See M. Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 198. A recent study concerning with these Latin translations is in: E. Darmstaedter, «Liber claritatis totius alkimicae artis, dem arabischen Alchemisten «Geber» zugeschrieben», in: *Archivio di Storia della Scienza* 6 (1925) 319-330; 7 (1926) 257-266; 8 (1927) 95-103, 214-226; 9 (1928) 63-80, 191-208, 462-484; the same author's «Liber Misericordiae Geber. Eine lateinische Übersetzung des grösseren Kitāb alrahma», in: *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.* 17 (1925) 181-197; Marcellin Berthelot, *Archéologie et histoire des sciences*, Paris 1906, p. 308-363. Cf. also E.J. Holmyard. «The Identity of Geber», in: *Nature* 111 (1923) 191-193, 217; the same author's article in *Proc. of Roy. Soc. of Med., Sect. of Hist. of Med.* 16 (1923) No. 23, where we are informed that the name of the kitāb al-istitmām of Ğābir, reminds us of the Latin book of Geber, *De investigatione perfectionis*; Edmund Oscar von Lippmann, «Über den Dschâbir des 8. und sog. Geber (Pseudo-Geber) des 13. Jahrhunderts», in: *Chemiker-Zeitung* 47 (1923) 321; Martin Plessner, «Geber und Jābir ibn Hayyān: An authentic sixteenth - century quotation from Jābir», in: *Ambix* 16 (1969) 113-118.

8. See Paul Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān, contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam*, Le Caire 1943, II, 163, 164.

9. Ibid. 319-339.

(under the title *Kitāb as-samā'wa-l-'ālam*),[10] the Περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν (*al-Hiss wa-l-Mahsūs*) the Περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστορίαι (*al-Hayawān*). The work Περὶ ψυχῆς (*Fi n-nafs*) and the «*Metaphysics*» (Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά) (*Fīmā ba'd at-tabī'a*) together with the commentary of Themistius and finally the Μετεωρολογικά (*Kitāb al-āthār al-'ulwīya*).[11] In his book *kitāb at-Tasrīf*, he took word for word 2 to 5 chapters of the second book of Aristotle's work Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς (*K. al-Kaun wa-l-fasād*), while in the *Kitāb al Qādir*, he quotes the pseudo-Aristotelian work Μηχανικά under the title *al-Mawāzīn al-mīkhānīqūnīya*.[12] In his work, *Kitāb al Mawāzīn as-saghīr*, he cites, as Ruska[13] notes, the Κατηγορίαι (*qatāghūriyās*) the Περὶ ἑρμηνείας (barīrmānīyās), the Anterior and Posterior Analytics (*analūtīqā*), the Τοπικά (*Tūpīqā*), and the Εἰσαγωγή (Isāghūğī) of Porphyrius.

As Moritz Steinschneider informs us, there are several other works which are among the sources of Ğābir in addition to the Περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν which we have already cited and some other books which are known as Μικρὰ φυσικά (*Parva Naturalia*).[14] Ğābir also adds the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-Ahğār* («Περὶ λίθων») known in Latin translation as *De Lapidibus*.[15] Ruska[16] and older interpreters regarded this book as the work of apocryphal Arabic literature which was written in the 9th century. But Wellman has already proved that it is a pre-Islamic Hellenistic work, which was edited about the year 600 A.D.[17]

Ğābir dedicated his work to Aristotle. One of the ten books which bears the title *Musahhahāt* (corrections), in which besides his opinions and critique he sets forth improvements in the teachings and opinions of the ancient Greek philosophers and contemporary scholars as well, was dedicated to Aristotle. This work has the title *K. Musahhahāt Aristūtālīs*.[18] Unfortunately, the book was lost and thus we do not know what Aristotelian ideas and what writings of Aristotle they received.[19] Ğābir also wrote a refutation of the opinions expressed by Aristo-

10. Ibid. 163 ff; 320-322.

11. Ibid. 319-324.

12. Ibid. 319-324.

13. J. Ruska, «Über das Schriftenverzeichnis des Ğābir ibn Hayyān und die Unechtheit einigen ihm zugeschiriebenen Abhandlungen», in: *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Med.* 15 (1923) 61-63; cf. *GAS* IV, 100-101, 171, 177, n. 2. Ruska regards all the works which were translated at the end of the 10th century as later developments.

14. See M. Steinschneider, *Arab. Übers.*, p. 62 (100).

15. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān*, II, 324.

16. Ruska devoted a special monograph to this pseudepigraphal work. See Julius Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles, mit literargeschichtlichen Untersuchungen nach der arabischen Handschrift der Bibliothèque Nationale herausgegeben und übersetzt*, Heidelberg 1912.

17. See Wellmann, *Die φυσικά des Bolos Demokritos...*

18. See Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 357.

19. See Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān*, I 66; cf. *GAS* IV 246-47.

tle in the Περὶ ψυχῆς,[20] as well as a commentary on the *Rhetoric*.[21]

The question that arises, after ascertaining that the thought of Aristotle was involved in the alchemical discussions of Arabs, is as follows: Aristotle had no sort of alchemical thought and «references about the relations between stars, gods and metals» are absent from his work, «as was the case with Plato».[22] Nevertheless, his writings belong to the most important sources of alchemy.[23] How can we explain this?

A short return to the history of Greek literature would show us that along with the progress of Greek science which reached its peak during the Hellenistic period. An apocryphal philology, which was a pseudo-science with a philosophical character, was developed by one group. At that time many pseudepigrapha, which took and confused elements of various origins, began to circulate under the name of ancient Greek wisdom. We have impressive evidence about the way these pseudepigrapha developed in the Φαρμακεύτριαι of the pastoral singer Theokritus, whose work coincided with the epoch of the enlightened monarch of Egypt Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.). In the Φαρμακεύτριαι (Εἰδύλλιον 2) there is related the story of how a young girl employed magic to gain her lover back. Here we can especially see the joy of the Hellenistic epoch in the lower forms of popular customs.

These two poles of science and pseudo-science, which we cite here, were joined together after a short period of time to produce a spurious child of unimaginable liveliness. Astrology was then developed as a well-organized discipline during the Ptolemaic period (c. 2nd cent. B.C.) The astrological work *Νεχεψώς-Πετόσιρις* (Revelations of Nechepsos-Petosiris) was written. This book which was attributed to an imaginary Pharaoh was the basic text characteristic of this ineradicable apocryphal pseudo-science and it found many imitators.[24]

20. The book has the title: kitāb ar-Radd 'alā Aristūtālīs fī kitābihi fi n-nafs. See Textes 113; cf. Kraus, *Jābir* I, 166; II, 309.

21. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān* I, 164; see *GAS* 171. More information on Ǧābir in *GAS* IV, 231-269.

22. See Lippmann, in: *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Nat.-Wiss.* 2 (1910) 287.

23. See I. Prantl, «Keime der Alchemie bei den Alten», in: *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift*, Stuttgart 1856, 135; Cf. Lipmann, *op. cit.* 287-88.

24. The book is dated a little before 150 B.C. see W. Burkert, in: *Philologus* 105 (1961) 30. For the content and critique see A. Wlosok, *Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis*. Abh. Ak. Heidelberg Phil.-hist. Kl. 1960/2, 35. According to an excerpt in the preface of the 6th book of the *Anthologiai* of Vettius Valens, Nechepsos was seized by a divine being and led in an adventure to heaven among the stars.

2. The Relationship of the Arabic Aristotelian Apocrypha to the Greek pseudonymous documents

If, therefore, there is an influence not only of the authentic but also of the pseudonymous Aristotelian literature on the natural sciences and alchemy of Islam, the question what is the apocryphal Aristotelian literature and how was it transmitted acquires a great deal of importance.

The most important problem relative to the pseudepigrapha and hermetic texts is at present involved with another question. Are these books Hellenistic works which were translated into Arabic, or are they in part, or in whole, Arabic productions, which took place after the 9th century A.D., when Greek literature had a wide circulation and the development of Greek literature had started among the Arabs? Julius Ruska was of the opinion that all the pseudepigrapha in Arabic were productions of the Arabs, and that they were done around the 10th, or 11th centuries and that they have no relation to any Greek pseudepigrapha.[25]

This problem has an immediate relation with the entire pseudepigraphical literature, which developed in the Arabic tradition and represented the principal lines of Hellenistic apocryphal literature. The Hellenistic apocryphal literature, as well as the Arabic, both entitled their texts with the names of ancient philosophers and Greek scholars such as Thales, Pythagoras, Leukippos, Democritus, Empedocles, Ostanes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Porphyrius, Zosimos, Apollonius of Tyana and many others as well as the mythic name of Hermes Trismegistus.

In order to understand this problem, we must take into consideration the fact that in the research of the history of Arabic literature and the Arabic sciences, the prevailing opinion, which Franz Rosenthal expressed, is that the Umayyads neither supported nor tolerated an official involvement with Greek culture.[26] Consequently, the transfer of the intellectual inheritance of antiquity to the Arabic world, along with the birth of the Arabic sciences, is a late matter. According to the evidence of the basic Arabic source, that is of the Fihrist of Ibn an-Nadīm, the great translation movement of books with philosophical and scientific content from Greek, Syriac, Persian and Hindi started around the 3rd/9th century and reached its peak in the period of the rule of Muslim Empire by Caliph al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833). During this period the famous Hunoin ibn Isḥāq and his school worked and a valid scientific terminology was created. Thus we have the terminus a quo for a chronology of the acceptance and reception of the foreign

25. Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberger Akten der von-Portheim-Stiffung 16), Heidelberg 1926, p. 67.

26. F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1965, p. 15.

intellectual inheritance by the Arabs and the foundation of the Arabic sciences. Consequently, almost the entire corpus of Arabic pseudepigrapha is not a translation of Greek pseudepigrapha, but rather spurious works which the Arabs themselves produced around the 10th or 11th century, when alchemy and the apocryphal sciences became fashionable. The greater part of these works was not based on Greek or Coptic ideas, but was a literary form developed in the Arabic-Islamic context after a long period of development. Julius Ruska said it well when he stated that «there was created a genuine Arabic literature».[27]

According to Fuat Sezgin[28] the opinion of Ruska lost with the passage of time its persuasive power. Three researchers of the history of Arabic literature, H.E. Stapleton, G.L. Lewis and F. Sherwood Taylor, in their joint research concerning with three Hermetic excerpts preserved in *Kitāb Mā' al-waraqī* of Ibn Umail (early 10th cent.)[29] have ascertained that one of these is directly attributed to Hermes, while the others are partially or indirectly attributed to him. More significant are the conclusions of the later research of Stapleton; in his work, *The Antiquity of Alchemy*,[30] he accepted the view that the Arabic alchemical manuscripts known to him are really Arabic translations of Hellenistic books.

Significant for the clarification of the problem is the contribution of earlier research. As early as 1909 Blochet stressed that alchemical and astrological theories found in the Arabic books, came directly from Greek texts and portions of these books were to be found in the *Catalogus codicum astrologum Graecorum*.[31] Significant for our work is C.A. Nallino's discovery in the Ambrosiana Library of the work attributed to Hermes, *Kitāb 'Arḍ miftāḥ asrār an-nuǧum* together with the *Kitāb Tūl miftāh asrār an-nuǧūm*, which according to the evidence of the same manuscript was translated into Arabic.[32]

The recently discovered material of Arabic manuscripts shows that the greatest part of the Arabic pseudepigrapha is the work of the Hellenized East. This is especially true for the works of apocryphal Greek literature of the last two centuries before Islam. Fuat Sezgin came to the conclusion that the greater part of the manifold Arabic material is recent. He came to this conclusion after many years of research in the libraries of the East and presented his view in his work, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schriftums* (vols. III-VIII of 1970, 1971, 1974 and 1978f. respectively). Sezgin's conclusions are the following:

27. Ruska *Tabula Smaragdina* 67.
28. *GAS* IV, 32 f.
29. The Sayings of Hermes quoted in the Mā' al-waraqī of Ibn Umail, in: *Ambix* 3 (1948) 69-90.
30. in: *Ambix* 5 (1953-56) 1-46.
31. Edgar Blochet, «Études sur le gnosticisme musulman», I: in: *RSO* 2 (1908-1909) 717-756: II: *ib.* 3 (1910) 177-203; III-IV: *ib.* 4 (1911-1912) 47-79, 267-300; V: *ib.* 6 (1914) 5-67.
32. C.A. Nallino, *'Ilm al-falak*, Roma 1911, 142; by *GAS* IV, 33-35.

«a) The begining of almost all the specialités of Islamic-Arabic studies must be sought in the first century of Hegira; b) the first translations (especially of medical, astronomical-astrological, alchemical and geographical writings) must be dated from the same area; c) the hermetic texts which are preserved in Arabic literature -either in manuscripts, or in citations of later works- and all the other pseudepigrapha, do not come hypothetically, but really from the Pre-Islamic era and are found at our disposition in Arabic translation. These writings which for the most part were written during the last Pre-Islamic centuries were found in the intellectual centers of Eastern Hellenistic culture, when these centers were occupied by the Arabs. These pseudepigrapha which for the most part were translated into Arabic before the genuine texts of the Greek writers belong to the oldest and most important sources of Islamic-Arabic sciences. Exactly for this reason, the birth and development of these sciences cannot be understood with taking these works into account. Beyond that, these texts are an invaluable witness to the history of science in later antiquity».

Therefore, according to Sezgin, the beginning of almost all the Arabic-Islamic sciences must be brought back to the first century of Muslim chronology, that is the 7th century A.D. It must be noted here that as the Greek sciences of the classical period became the basis for the Hellenistic development of various branches of sciences, likewise the Arabo-Islamic sciences were also based on the classical Greek legacy.

The most difficult point to accept in Sezgin's thought is that Arabic scientific terminology was created before the 9th century A.D. Consequently the prevailing notion that this terminology was created by Hunain ibn Ishāq and his school is in Sezgin's view incorrect.

If we accept the position of Sezgin, we must unavoidably reduce the value of the work of Hunain and his school. But the work of Hunain and his school cannot be overlooked. On the other hand, it would again be difficult to accept that a whole series of pseudepigrapha, which were preserved in Arabic under the name of a large group of Greek philosphers and Hellenistic scholars, are simply the false works of the Arabs themselves and that the Muslims themselves wrote all these in a later more highly developed phase of their history, under the pseudonyms of ancient Greek philosophers. The recently discovered manifold Arabic manuscripts, most of which were completely unknown up until a few years ago, oblige us to be more careful before expressing any views about this matter.

I believe that we should follow the middle road between the two above-mentioned views. We can assume that the principal activity of translation began during the epoch of the Abbasids and especially under the Caliph al-Ma'mum (813-833) and that Hunain and his school produced an authentic scientific terminology. This progress presupposed a previous stage of preparation and preparatory work.

No civilization blossoms by itself, without a preparation of many years.

In order to understand this we must take into consideration the translation activity of the first five Islamic centuries. We can divide this activity into the following three phases:

1) The first phase starts in the first half of the 8th cent. A.D., mainly in the last decades of the Umayyad Empire. M. Grignaschi, who has done extensive research on the «epistolary romances», i.e., the material of epistles sent allegedly by Aristotle to Alexander the Great, proved that most, if not all, were translated into Arabic during this period.[33]

2) The second phase begins sometime between the middle and the end of the 9th cent. A.D. with the important translations of Hunain ibn Ishāq and his school. It was during this period that the most important philosophical and scientific works were translated.

3) The third phase starts in the second half of the 10th cent. and lasts till the first half of the 11th cent. A.D. and it is remarked by recensions, shorter editions and additions of the already existing translations in Arabic. It is during this phase that pseudoepigraphic writings of the «Ethical Sayings» of Aristotle, Plato's «Testament to Aristotle» and the Sirr al-asrār appear.[34]

Thus, we must stress that while the philosophical and especially scientific works were translated later, a large number of the pseudepigrapha of the Hellenistic para-literature began to be translated during the first Islamic century. Here, the opinions of Sezgin are categorical. It was genuine works of the ancient Greeks that were first translated during the first two centuries of Islam, but chiefly it was the Greek pseudonymous writings and especially those that were produced during the first two centuries before Islam. We know that in the Middle East, that area that extends from Egypt to Mesopotamia, not to mention the most important area of the Byzantine Empire, the apocryphal literature, accompanied and assisted by the popular kind of apocalyptic literature, continued till the epoch Islam appeared and from then on the pseudepigraphical tradition of Greek times continued till the Middle Ages.

We must not overlook the fact that the norm of this Hellenistic literature was the pseudepigrapha. Granted that Arabic alchemy started from the basis of the translations of Greek apocryphal books, this means that the tradition of the Hellenistic pseudepigrapha continued in the Arabo-Islamic world. Consequently we are here under the influence of the alchemists and that of the Hermetic literature

33. Grignaschi's contribution on the «epistolary romances» of Alexander was very important. He came to the conclusion that the history of alchemy began in Umayyadin period. See «Le Roman épistolaire classique conservé dans la version arabe de Sālim Abū-l-'Alā'», in: *Le Muséon* 80 (1967), 211-264.

34. See Gutas, op.cit., 446.

which began around the 2nd century B.C. in Egypt and continued until Islamic times.

We must also take into consideration the following: It is certainly true that the Arabs at the first stages of their Islamic history, did not fully exploit the culture they found. Both language and religion separated them from their conquered neighbors. However, we must suppose that there was some knowledge of Greek letters, or some translation movement, at least, during the period of the later Umayyads, which movement marked, with the passage of time, a definite progressive increase. The Umayyads surely would not allow *official support* of the state for a science concerned with Greek culture, because historical conditions did not permit it. They first had to build up the Islamic Empire. Tacitly, however, many of the Umayyadin caliphs tolerated this intellectual activity.

This was unavoidable because when the riches of Hellenic and Persian thought were opened before their eyes, there was created a gradually increasing number of intellectuals who tried to develop the wisdom they found there. Indeed when the Umayyads transferred the capital of the state from Medina to Damascus, the intellectual distinction between the teaching of Islam and the culture of antiquity was gradually made ever sharper. At Damascus, the Arabic spirit came into wider contact with the Greek spirit. Here the Muslims tasted deeply of the riches of culture, but they were not permitted to advocate it officially. However, the spirit was not tied down. Already from this period, the attempts at appropriation and absorption of the ancient intellectual inheritance continually found new supporters. Thus at the beginning, a gradually increasing translation activity started which reached its peak in the epoch, when the Abbasids would seize state power.

It is obvious that the material which was collected during the period of the Umayyads was the work of personal initiatives. This was collected in a selective and fragmentary manner, which involved practical rather than theoretical purposes. Rich men, especially from the circles of the Caliphs, who were thirsting for knowledge, entrusted to Greek Christian scholars who knew Arabic, the task of collecting and translating into Arabic, materials of practical value. These materials chiefly covered medicine, alchemy, and other scientific knowledge.

Without any doubt, the first information the Arabs obtained in the above areas of knowledge came not through translations, but by communication with doctors who lived in the hellenized areas before and after the Arabic conquest. Around them were gathered intellectuals who cultivated the sciences and thought of the period. Sufficient attention was not given till now to the informations contained in the sources about the activity of individual Christian doctors, who served in the Court of the Umayyadin Caliphs. One of them, ibn Athāl by name, was already serving in the Court of the first caliph Mu'āwīya (661-680) as his personal

doctor. The caliphs and the princes to handle the needs of daily life, turned to the practical disciplines, especially medicine. The doctor at that time was the universally well-educated person, and knew not only medicine, but all other sciences of the period as well. He was a representative of general education. So with the doctors and other intellectuals who worked at the Court of the Caliphs, the Arabs who desired knowledge did not delay in acquiring it. Even some Umayyadin recognized the importance of medicine, alchemy and other natural sciences.

Although a great number of Arabic pseudoepigraphic works exist, it is difficult to arrange them chronologically and decide exactly when they began to appear in the Arabic-Islamic world, as we have only very few criteria for their exact chronology. We only know that the time of the writing of these books and their translation from Syriac, Greek, and Persian fluctuates from between the 8th century to the 10th century A.D. However, we can generally say that the original step of Arabic alchemical philology which contains a vast number of pseudepigrapha, took place as early as before the writing of the Corpus Gabirianum. Perhaps Akfānī is correct when he maintains that the alchemical books were not translated with such great care as the other scientific books and consequently one can conjecture that the School of Hunain was not involved with translations of alchemical works, except only to the smallest degree. These first pseudepigrapha present many differences among themselves as concerning their origin, time of composition, and character. Many of these are translations of Greek pseudepigrapha; others are written in the Arabic language, though they have Greek pseudepigrapha as their model. They also have different characteristic identities. The general characteristic of these books is that they circulated under the name of various famous wisemen and philosophers and imaginary authorities. This philological circle constituted one of the basis of later alchemical literature. The writer of the Corpus of Ğābir as well as the known doctor and allchemist Muh. ibn Zakarīya' ar-Rāzī (Latin: Rahzes) (251-313 / 865-925) are both based on the ancient Literature and they frequently refer to known alchemists such as Hermes, Ostanes, Maria, Zosimos, Balinas and many ancient philosophers such as Democritus, Pythagoras, Plato and others. Aristotle has a special place among them.

Grigoris Ziakas

HOW MAGIC WAS CHANGED BY THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY

The intimate, almost incestuous, relations of magic and religion should lead us to suppose that the great change of religion which took place in the ancient world, when Christianity displaced paganism, must have been accompanied by a correspondingly great change of magic. Few scholars, however, have made this supposition, and almost none have discussed it. This neglect has resulted in part from the general neglect of magic as an aspect of civilization, in part from the notion that magic is timeless and changeless, either because a survival of primitive culture, or because a spontaneous expression of some aspect of human nature, and therefore has no more history than does sleep or copulation. Both of these reasons, as well as the notion they are used to justify, are false. Here, however, we cannot argue these questions in general. We must limit ourselves to one instance, the change of Greco-Roman magic as a result of the triumph of Christianity.

To discuss the change we must begin with an account of classical magic before Christianity triumphed. It was complex. The real *magoi* had been Median priests. The Greeks probably first got to know them as religious officials attached to Cyrus' army, and coined *mageia* to refer to the strange things they did. Soon, however, the word acquired a second meaning as a term of abuse like our «hocus pocus», and as such was used to describe a lot of religious practices, most of them native Greek, that were going out of fashion (at least, among the upper class) because of the rise of rationalism: the things done by prophets, bird watchers, interpreters of dreams, men who used sacrifices to foretell the future, singers of spells, old women who sold love potions and sometimes more deadly drugs, and so on and on. All such practices had originally been perceived as distinct; each had its proper Greek name. Only when rationalism came to see and represent them as a class was a general name for the whole class needed, and the foreign term, *mageia*, because of its abusive connotation, was pressed into service for this purpose.

Once the class was conceived and named, its membership grew, as more and more practices were thus discredited. It probably grew much in hellenistic times as the Greeks spread across the near east and encountered strange observances; it

certainly grew much in Roman times when Italian practitioners of shady supernaturalism were added - haruspices, strigae, and so on. Also pretenders to hellenistic pseudo learning and to near eastern wisdom - *mathematici, physici, astrologi, Chaldaei* - were gradually assimilated in popular opinion to the *magoi*, and their practices, too, came to be classed as *mageia*, or, in Latin, *magia*, for the Romans borrowed the word as well as the concept.

These various practitioners used an even greater variety of practices for which they pretended to rely on equally various powers. A mere catalogue of this complexity would take more space than is here available. We must fall back on the traditional distinction into two great classes - «natural magic», which relied on powers supposed to be inherent or revealed in natural objects or events, and «daemonic magic», which claimed to work by invocation or compulsion of various sorts of supernatural beings ranging from ghosts to gods.

This seems a reasonably clear distinction, but in fact it was constantly blurred because natural objects and events were commonly personified. Not only were the planets, sun, and moon sometimes assigned to gods or angels, sometimes identified with them, but even the perfume myrrh was invoked as a deity (*Papyri Graecae Magicae* XXXVI. 333 ff.) and there were spells to be used to secure the good offices of any plant (*id.* IV. 2977 ff.). Even in the realm of religion, *bonus eventus* (successful outcome) was a god to whom prayers were offered.

Nevertheless, for convenience' sake, we can fairly lump together the procedures (commonly classed as magic) that relied on knowledge of, or belief about, the «powers» of plants and stones and parts of animals and celestial bodies; this included most medical magic, much love magic, alchemy, and astrology. A second great group dealt with interpretations of events: dreams, movements of animals or of incense, configurations of the entrails of animals, chance encounters and utterances, lightning, thunder, and other weather signs, and so on. Many such interpretations had roles in established religion, but magicians made use of them, too, and did so to such an extent that the Latin *haruspex* (examiner of entrails), for instance, comes to be practically equivalent with Greek *magos* or *goes*. Hippolytus of Rome, when attacking magicians in his *Refutatio* (IV. 28 ff.), gives directions for producing imitation thunder, livers with abnormal markings, and the like, which the magician will then «interpret» to suit his needs.

All such practices differed basically from the other great class of magical operations which were thought to be performed by invocation of daemonic powers. I use «daemonic» in its widest sense to include the spirits of the dead on the one hand, the gods on the other, and all the beings in between. The differences separating them did not matter greatly for practical purposes. Though various ones had to be invoked in various ways, all could be called on effectively and compelled or persuaded to perform their appropriate functions. Indeed, the surprising thing is the relative uniformity with which such beings are treated in classical magic. Even alien gods - Mithras of Persia, for instance, and Yahweh of Israel, and a lot of Yahweh's alter-egos and angels (Adonai, Sabaoth, Elohim, Pantocrator, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ouriel, and so on) - were all taken into this divine democracy on equal terms. Yahweh even rose to become its most prominent citizen. The Greek form of his name, ΙΑΩ, is half again as frequent in the magical papyri as that of any other god.

These daemonic powers were sometimes referred to in natural magic, especially in astrology because of the identification of some of them with the luminaries, but they were mainly used in various sorts of operations we may describe as «callings», and these had only peripheral connexions with natural magic. *Daimones* might be called on simply to do their proper work, or to obey the magician by performance of some special task. They might be called out of something or someone and banished, or they might be called into someone, either the magician or his assistant, and this either for a brief period or, in the case of the magician, permanently. Thus the oldest *defixiones* (curse tablets sunk in graves or wells or the like) simply «made over» their victims to the underworld gods for the destruction those gods would naturally inflict. (St. Paul followed this old pattern when he «made over» to Satan, for physical destruction, his opponent in Corinth (I Cor. 5.3). Jesus, as conceived in Lk. 7.1 ff., sent his angels like soldiers for the specific purpose of healing the slave of the centurion of Capernaum; conversely, he not only ordered the demons out of the Gerasene demoniac, but told them where to go: into a herd of pigs (Mk. 5.1 ff.). Such *ad hoc* callings and sendings are frequent in the Gospels and in other magical material. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, urges them to invoke spirits not simply for the pleasure of being possessed and speaking ecstatically, but for the practical purpose of prophecy (I Cor. 14). Prophecy is likewise the commonest purpose of invocation in the magical papyri, but there are many others, especially erotic. *Daimones* were often sent to bring lovers, but were also asked to give the magician such power that anyone whom he called would immediately drop everything and follow him, as the disciples did when Jesus called them (Mk. 1.18, 20, etc.). Beyond such particular services, *daimones* were also called to enter the magicians and unite with them, so that the magician could say, «I am you and you are I», or, as Paul said, «I live no longer I, but Christ lives in me» (Gal. 2.20). Such identification was sometimes, especially for erotic purposes, effected by physical means. The magician, when identified with a god, might identify a cup of wine with his blood - the blood of the god - and give it to another to drink. Whoever drank it would be joined to him in love. These rituals are the closest known parallels to the eucharist (see M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, San Francisco, 1978, pp. 122 etc.).

In this brief description of Graeco-Roman magic I have pointed out some of

the many parallels to Christian stories, teachings, and practices, because such parallels explain why Christianity was so often identified by ancient writers as magic and was prosecuted accordingly. The similarities did not stop with New Testament times, nor did the prosecutions. The later Christian collection of the remains of martyrs' bodies was suspiciously like magicians' collection of the remains of bodies of executed criminals (the martyrs were legally criminals) whose spirits they wished to control. We have many ancient stories of thefts of dead bodies for magical purposes; the practice was evidently common and may explain the disappearance of Jesus' body and the empty tomb. Be that as it may, the Christians' frequent gatherings around tombs and in catacombs must have seemed to most pagans an indication of necromancy. Such similarities and suspicions had important consequences for the social position of magic when Christianity, so long identified with it, was legalized and given a privileged position by Constantine. It was no accident that through the following centuries, from Iamblichus to Proclus, magic was everywhere.

During this period Christianity, like magic, was an extremely complex entity. Not only was the Catholic Church divided by important heresies and schisms - the Arian struggle with its innumerable subdivisions, and the Donatist and Meletian and Novatian schisms, to mention only the most important - but also many earlier Christian sects lived on, some in important numbers - Marcionites and Montanists and Valentinians and Ebionites and so on - each one claiming to be the Christian Church.

Therefore it was impossible for the Christians, as a whole, to take a single position about magic. Besides, even within the different parties of the Catholic Church that at different times were dominant during the fourth century, widely different positions on magic were to be found. They stemmed from inconsistencies in the Old Testament itself, about pagan gods and practices. At one extreme were statements like Dt. 4.19 which says that Yahweh assigned the celestial bodies to the gentiles that they might worship them; such worship has therefore divine origin and justification. At the other extreme were many verses like Ps. 135.15 ff.: «The idols of the gentiles are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths but do not speak, eyes, but do not see, ears, but do not hear,» etc. Between came passages which implied that the pagan gods were living beings, albeit inferior in power to Yahweh; the classic statement was the Septuagint's rendition of Ps. 96.5, «All the gods of the heathen are *daimonia*» (LXX Ps. 95.5).

To what extent the worship of *daimonia*, especially for magical purposes, might be thought permissible even in Judaism, is now shown by *The Book of Secrets*, a fourth or fifth century Jewish text pieced together by the late Prof. M. Margalioth from fragments of the Cairo Genizah (*Sefer harazim*, Jerusalem, 1966). The work is a handbook for magical practices, arranged as a «Who's Who in the Heavens». It lists the angels of each heaven, from the first to the sixth, telling for which purposes and with what incantations and (sometimes) sacrifices each should be invoked. A number of pagan gods appear among the angels, one of them is Helios, to whom part of a Greek prayer, like those in the magical papyri, is addressed in Greek transliterated into Hebrew letters. But when the author reaches the seventh heaven, he bursts into hymns of praise for Yahweh as the only God and creator of all. This text was not an isolated eccentricity. It must have been, in Jewish circles, an early Byzantine best seller, for it was represented in the Genizah by fragments of half a dozen manuscripts, and it was widely echoed and adapted in early mediaeval Jewish literature. Besides this direct evidence, there are numerous Christian patristic texts which report Jewish worship of angels and are thus confirmed.

The fathers also report that their Christian competitors, whom they called, and by whom they were called, «heretics», practiced magic and worshiped angels. These reports, too, are partially confirmed and altogether likely. It is also likely, though not reported, that the cult of angels was carried on for magical purposes by many Catholic Christians. J. Barbel's *Christos Angelos* (repr. Bonn, 1964) has collected passages, from Justin Martyr down, in which Christ is described as an angel, and has used this tradition to explain the hold of Arianism. A history of the cults of the angels, with attention to magical parallels, would yield interesting material. More could be found in the cults of the saints, with some of whom a number of pagan deities important in magic had close ties - Helios with St. Elias, Serapis with St. Menas, etc.

Other aspects of ancient magic that notoriously survived were among those I classed as «natural magic», both the learned pseudo-sciences - alchemy, astrology, magical medicine, interpretation of dreams and portents - and the enormous number of peasant practices which usually escaped persecution because they were not tied to any named pagan deities, and because neither the Church nor the Empire had the strength to stop them. Constantine had implicitly recognized this in his early legislation (*Codex Theodosianus* IX. 16.3, dated 319) when he provided that «maleficent arts» (*maleficus*, Greek *kakopoios*, had come to be the popular term for «magician»; it seems to have had that sense already when used of Jesus in Jn. 18.30) - «maleficent arts» practiced to harm others or to gratify lust are to be punished, but no accusation is to be permitted concerning remedies for human bodies or rural rites for protection of crops.

This is a commonsense distinction and was probably followed not only by imperial officers but also by many church authorities (who were perhaps more important because they had a vastly greater number of interested informers). At all events, the archaeological evidence for maleficent and erotic magic (mainly *defixiones* and papyri) gradually dwindles away after the definitive Christian

triumph in the fifth century, though the Christians themselves continued to produce imprecatory prayers, with magical traits, well into the 500's (see G. Björck, *Der Fluch des... Sabinus*, Uppsala, 1938). In the fifth century, too, amulets with pagan figures and prayers are gradually replaced by amulets with saints' figures and Christian prayers for much the same purposes. Besides the saints, the Blessed Virgin and Jesus now become prominent in such prayers. The Holy Spirit rarely appears except in trinitarian formulae. After Montanism, if not before, the Church turned its back on the Pauline tradition of personal possession; the Holy Spirit continued to be invoked *pro forma*, but no directly observable response was desired. Another Pauline magical trait that disappears is identification with the deity. Since Paul's letters remained authoritative, it remained and remains a matter of doctrine that Christ lives in all baptized Christians. But any Christian who draws the practical conclusion - Christ lives in me; I therefore have his power and shall use it for a specific, observable miracle - will be an extraordinary figure and probably soon in trouble.

While in these says the triumph of Christianity diminished magical practice, in another way it greatly increased magic. It classified as magical all the rites of pagan religion, and so made magicians and witches (at least for legal purposes) of the innumerable pagans who still practiced them. The Biblical basis for this was the Septuagint's pronouncement already cited, «All the gods of the heathen are *daimonia*» (Ps. 95.5). When *daimonia* were distinguished from the one God not merely as inferior, but as evil beings, then pagan worship became, as magic had long been said to be, the cult of evil demons, and its prohibition could be justified.

The fathers of the Church, from Justin Martyr on, had been identifying the pagan gods with evil demons, but the civil government was not prepared to follow them, much less draw the consequences for the erstwhile civic religion. Whatever Constantine's personal convictions, he had to keep the loyalty of important pagan elements in his court and his army, so his legislation was limited in scope and terminology. As we saw, he prohibited maleficent magic, but did not identify it with pagan religion, and even permitted medical magic and agricultural rites (*Cod. Th.* IX.16.3). Similarly he provided that soothsayers *(fatidici)* might be consulted when buildings were struck by lightning and that the customary rites for such occasions might be observed «provided there is no sacrifice» (*Cod. Th.* XVI.10.1) - the terminal provision looks suspiciously like a gloss. Eusebius says he prohibited sacrifice (*Vita Constantini* II.45.1) and a law of Constantius refers to this prohibition (*Cod. Th.* XVI.10.2), but Constantine's prohibition, if any, has not been preserved and the truth of Eusebius' report is disputed. That Constantine classed *venefici* and *malefici* (customary terms for magicians, though of wider reference) among the criminals liable to capital punishment (*Cod. Th.* IX.40.1), whose property should be confiscated (IX.42.2), whose appeals from verdicts were not to be considered unless supported by strong evidence (XI.36.1), and who were excluded from the general pardons given on festive occasions (IX.38), merely extended traditional Roman laws against magic. A new departure was his prohibition of haruspices from entering private houses (IX.16.1), but if the ancient board of official haruspices had already lapsed, and the haruspices had returned to the status of private practitioners, this prohibition would not have affected Roman *public* religion. Only the prohibition of sacrifices would have done that, and animal sacrifices had long been attacked by some pagan thinkers as superstitious (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* VIII.7.10).

After a generation of imperial patronage of Christianity, with consequent increase of its adherents, Constantius could go further. He prohibited consultation of *haruspices, mathematici, harioli, augures, vates, Chaldaei, magi*, «and all the rest whom the common people call *malefici*» (IX.16.4), and in other laws he prescribed death for «those who summon the spirits of the dead to torment their enemies» (IX.16.5), and ruled that none accused of any of the above practices, nor any interpreter of dreams, should, even if members of the imperial staff, escape torture to compel admission of guilt (IX.16.6). The inclusion of augurs in this list is important, since they had formerly been high officials of Roman state religion.

Constantius' laws on these subjects presumably lapsed under Julian. Valentinian and Valens issued new legislation along the lines Constantius had laid down, but perhaps found that they had gone too far. In 371 Valentinian found it prudent to rule that «Haruspicy has no connexion with magic. This *religio*, and all others allowed by our elders, is not to be considered a crime. Everyone is to be free to follow his belief. We do not condemn divination, but we do forbid it to be practiced harmfully» (*Cod. Th.* IX.16.9). Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIX.2) reports that in this year prosecutions for magic by imperial officials had produced a reign of terror in the court, so this law may reflect a temporary reaction.

In all this legislation against magic it has not been equated with heresy, nor have the heretics, who are the objects of equally frequent and virulent legislation, been accused of magic. In one exceptional instance, *Cod. Th.* XVI.5.34, we find a ruling that persons who try to preserve the books of Eunomians and Montanists by concealing them are to suffer capital punishment «as guilty of magic», but «as» probably means, «in the same fashion as if», i.e. it equates the punishments, not the crimes.

Yet more remarkably, this legislation against magic makes no frontal attack on Roman religion generally. The approaches to such an attack begin under Theodosius, when all extispicy is prohibited as «an attempt to break down the laws of nature» (*Cod. Th.* XVI.10.12), and offerings to images are prohibited as services of «pagan superstition». From then on, references to pagan cultic acts as

«superstitious» are frequent (XVI.10.16, 17, 18), but only under Honorius and Theodosius II in 423 is it flatly declared that sacrifices to pagan gods are sacrifices to demons (XVI.10.23). With this the reversal is complete. Christianity which previously, by Roman law, was magic, has become the official religion, and the official religion of ancient Rome has become, by Roman law, magic. The notion that magic has no history could hardly be more conspicuously refuted.

By way of postscript it should be said that the changes in magic produced by the triumph of Christianity were by no means limited to these comparatively immediate results. Christianity not only brought with it a new supernatural population of benevolent beings - the Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, the saints - whom Christians promptly pressed into service, often by the old magical rites, for many of the old magical purposes, but besides this, and more important, Christianity gave to magic Satan - a supreme ruler of the powers of evil, whose realm could be conceived as an empire opposed to that of God. The classical world of *daimones* had been literally a pandemonium. No god was always in control; few were wholly beneficent or wholly evil, and those few were comparatively unimportant; the magician turned to one or another as the task in hand seemed to indicate, with no apparent thought of ulterior consequences. The triumph of Christianity, however, brought also the triumph of Satan, though this consequence was only slowly realized. The Roman/Persian dichotomy was shifted to the supernatural world. To practice magic became to side with the opposition, to enter the service of the great enemy, the Kingdom of Evil and its ruler, the Power of Darkness. Thus magic began to be Satanism, a counter religion. This is not to say that Satan was a Christian invention. His «name» is really a Hebrew title, «the accuser» - the official informer of the divine court - and his role as ruler of all other evil spirits probably came from Persia. But Christianity made him one of the great figures of occidental mythology, and once it had done so, the power of this concept, like a magnet, attracted to itself and arranged in order the hitherto scattered and unrelated elements of classical magic.

Morton Smith

PSEUDO-MÉTHODE DE PATARA «LE TEMPS DE L'APOSTASIE ET DU CHÂTIMENT DES FILS D'ISMAËL»

Commentaire sur les chapitres de l'Apocalypse du Ps.-Méthode relatifs aux Arabes, leur histoire et leur religion

A. Introduction

1. Depuis le 7ème siècle la présence dynamique des Arabes[1] au Moyen Orient dans les régions autour de la Méditerranée a provoqué, outre des problèmes politiques et sociaux, des réflexions d'ordre existentiel parmi les peuples chrétiens. Pour la première fois peut-être dans l'histoire tant de peuples ont été menacés aussi directement de la perte du support idéologique légué par le Christianisme. La difficulté résidait particulièrement dans le fait que cette menace s'exprimait aussi à travers la religion de l'Islam qui cherchait à façonner un nouveau «modus vivendi», à des hommes comme les Orientaux, les Byzantins, les Africains, dont l'histoire est en même temps l'expression d'un mode de vie.

La mise en danger de leur existence les a conduits à un désespoir et à une angoisse à la recherche d'une issue.[2] L'Islam luttait contre la Byzance chétienne. Les Chrétiens des pays occupés par les Arabes vivaient sous des conditions politiques, sociales et religieuses tout à fait nouvelles.[3]

On a constaté que, dans ces cas-là, les hommes recourent à leur histoire, sacrée et profane, recherchant des points communs avec les événements de leur époque pour en tirer certaines conclusions qui leur permettent de prévoir leur avenir et celui de leur société en péril.[4]

1. Sur les événements historiques, cf. A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (1952), p. 207 sq. Δ. Ζακυθηνοῦ, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ αὐτοκρατορία 324-1071*, Ἐν Ἀθήναις 1969. C. Cahen, *Der Islam*, I, *Von Ursprung bis zu den Anfängen des Osmanenreiches*, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 1968, pp. 34-52.

2. M. Kmosko, Das Rätzel des Pseudomethodios, dans *Byzantion* 6 (1931) p. 273.

3. C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.

4. W. Schmithals, *Die Apokalyptik. Einführung und Deutung*, Göttingen 1973, pp. 83-95.

Le texte du Ps. -Méthode[5] appartient au genre de textes apocalyptiques - eschatologiques et fut écrit en langue syrienne par un Syrien chrétien alors que le danger islamique devenait menaçant. La propagation en fut étonnante: il a été aussitôt traduit en grec, puis en latin.

Dans le cas de textes comme celui du Ps.-Méthode nous avons affaire à une sorte de résistance à la pensée que la menace des Arabes pourrait se transformer en une réalité permanente et substituer le pouvoir islamique au royaume chrétien. Ces constatations, le Ps.-Méthode les présente comme des prophéties, des révélations divines déterminant l'avenir.

Le danger d'asservissement et d'assimilation par les Arabes de ces diverses nations, soumises auparavant à Byzance, le souvenir des multiples tentatives de conquête faites par les Arabes, avaient laissé avec le temps dans l'esprit de ces peuples une image effroyable. Cela se voit clairement dans des textes tels que celui du Ps.-Méthode où se maintient vivant l'espoir d'une victoire définitive des forces chrétiennes.[6]

2. Plusieurs recherches concernant le problème littéraire suscité par le texte du Ps.-Méthode ont été faites déjà depuis le siècle dernier[7] et les données historiques fournies par le texte ont été également examinées. Une réponse à peu près définitive aux problèmes que présente le texte dans sa version grecque a été donnée par Anastasios Lolos dans son ouvrage *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios*, Meisenheim an Glan 1976.

Dans ce qui suit, c'est de la partie apocalyptique du texte -soit des chapitres 10 à 14 - que je vais m'occuper. Ces chapitres présentent à mon avis le plus grand intérêt et ils s'avèrent de toute façon importants pour ce congrès.

Le Ps.-Méthode, dans les neuf premiers chapitres de l'Apocalypse, retrace

5. Méthode, évêque d'Olympe de Lycie, a subi le martyre en 311 sous le règne de l'empereur Dioclétien. Il est connu pour son œuvre *Le Banquet ou de la virginité*. On s'est servi de son nom pour donner du prestige au texte.

6. C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, p. 32-34. Cahen dit: «Zwar durchqueren arabische Expeditionen Kleinasien mehrere Male und hinterlassen in der Erinnerung und der Legende dauerhafte Spuren und bleibende Hoffnungen».

7. Bibliographie fondamentale: V.M. Istrin, *Oktrovenie Mefodija Patarskago*, 1897. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen Pseudomethodius, Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle*, Halle 1898. F. Nau, Révélations et légendes. Methodius-Clément-Andronicus, dans *Journal Asiatique* 9 (1917) 415-452. M. Kmosko, Das Rätzel des Pseudomethodius, dans *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 285-87. H. Stocks, Pseudomethodios und die Babylonische «Sibylle», dans *Byz.-neugr. Jahrb.* 15 (1939) 29-57. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*, (München 1972). P.J. Alexander, Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources, dans *American Historical Review* 53 (1968) 997-1019. P.J. Alexander, Historiens Byzantins et croyances eschatologiques, dans *Actes du XII*[ème] *Congrès International des études byzantines*, II, Ochride (Belgrade 1964). A. Lolos, *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios*, Meisenheim am Glan 1976.

l'histoire humaine en remontant jusqu' à ses origines. Il est au courant de la division de l'histoire en périodes.[8] Histoire sacrée et histoire profane se confondent dans son texte. L'histoire de la civilisation humaine se divise en six millénaires et il est convaincu que le septième millénaire va marquer la fin du monde.

Les événements décrits vont d'Adam à Alexandre le Grand.[9] La partie essentiellement apocalyptique de l'œuvre commence au 10ème chapitre.

La question fondamentale qui se pose, dès le début, se rapporte à la croyance exprimée à la fin de la partie historique du texte: si l'on croit «qu' il n'existe de nation ni de royaume sous le ciel qui puisse asservir le royaume des Chrétiens»,[10] alors quelle explication doit-on donner à l'idée du «royaume des Romains», c'est-à-dire des Chrétiens humiliés dans les pays orientaux par un peuple qui professe une nouvelle religion, un nouveau mode de vie?

L'effort de l'écrivain tend à préciser:

a) Dans quelle mesure l'invasion arabe était connue dans les livres prophétiques des Chrétiens. Cela se fait subtilement par l'intermédiaire de citations puisées dans l'Écriture Sainte.

b) Quelles sont les conditions de vie qui accompagnent la présence des envahisseurs Arabes.

c) Quel est leur avenir et celui des Chrétiens. Ces trois points constituent la colonne vertébrale du texte.

La structure d'un texte eschatologique et apocalyptique, comme il a déjà été dit, oblige l'écrivain à présenter son sujet de telle manière que le peuple, à l'intention duquel sont exposées surtout ces idées, soit convaincu que tout cela va se réaliser dans l'avenir.

Il s'agit de prophéties comme on dit «ex eventu»,[11] c'est-à-dire d'une exposition d'énénements qui ont déjà eu lieu dans un passé récent.

Les événements qui servent de prétexte au Ps.-Méthode sont des incidents historiques de son temps qu'il identifie aux prédictions des Écritures sur la fin du monde.

Au septième millénaire, c'est-à-dire à la fin du monde, selon le Ps.-Méthode, «la semence d'Ismaël partira du désert d'Ethribe et se retrouvera tout entière dans la grande ville de Gabaon».[12]

L'exode des Arabes de leur péninsule est conforme à des prophéties comme

8. G. Podskalsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94. Sur la chronologie juive: P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie des jüdis. Gemeinde im neutestamentl. Zeitalter*, Tübingen 2. Auflage 1934. Sur la division du temps en périodes: G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie*, Berlin 1969, pp. 457-479.

9. M. Kmosko, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

10. IX, 8. Les citations au texte du Ps.-Méthode d'après l'édition d'Anastasios Lolos.

11. P.J. Alexander, Medieval Apocalypses, *op. cit.*, p. 997.

12. XI, 1

celle d'Ezéchiel 39, 17, où il est question du grand sacrifice et du sang qui va couler. La ville de Gabaon se confond avec la ville de Gabitha[13] de Syrie qui se trouve près de la rivière Jarmuk, où les Arabes ont vaincu les Byzantins en 636. Ainsi le Ps.-Méthode relate des événements qui ont eu lieu entre les années 636 et 649/54. La version grecque se réfère aussi à des incidents qui se poursuivent jusqu'en 674. L'auteur mentionne notamment la prise de Jérusalem par Omar, la conquête de la Mésopotamie (en 639/40) et de l'Arménie, celle de l'Égypte (en 640) par Mu'āwiya, les entreprises navales des Arabes à Chypre (649), à Cos et à Rhodes (649/54) ainsi que leur invasion en Asie Mineure (663) et le siège de Constantinople (674).[14]

Ce qui semble l'intéresser avant tout, ce n'est pas tant les détails des événements historiques eux-mêmes, que leurs conséquences en rapport avec les prédictions des textes prophétiques concernant la fin de l'histoire humaine.

Dans des textes tels que celui du Ps.-Méthode on a tendance à faire appel à des textes apocalyptiques-prophétiques de toute sorte, à des textes aussi bien officiellement reconnus par l'Église qu'à d'autres revêtant un caractère populaire. Ainsi le Ps.-Méthode se réfère d'une part à des textes prophétiques de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament et il utilise d'autre part des expressions connues par l'oracle de Baalbeck (6ème siècle).[15]

B. «Le temps de l'apostasie et du châtiment des fils d'Ismaël»

Le Ps.-Méthode a puisé l'expression «le temps de l'apostasie» dans le fragment de la seconde épître de St. Paul aux Thessaloniciens, 2, 3-4: «Que personne ne vous séduise d'aucune manière; car il faut que l'apostasie soit arrivée auparavant, et qu'on ait vu paraître l'homme du péché, le fils de la prédiction, l'adversaire qui s'élève au-dessus de tout ce qu'on appelle Dieu ou de ce qu'on adore, jusqu'à s'asseoir dans le temple de Dieu, se proclamant lui-même Dieu».

Le mot «châtiment» avait déjà été ajouté à la version syrienne originale avec la seule transposition de l'accent de l'équivalent du mot «apostasie» en syrien. Les deux prononciations différentes du même mot mārdûthâ correspondent, comme l'a démontré Kmosko, à deux significations différentes. Mārdûthâ signifie apostasie et mardûthâ veut dire châtiment.

En commentant ce phénomène, Kmosko remarque que «l'écrivain apocalyptique concevait le mot *apostasie* dans le sens du mot *châtiment*, c'est-à-dire *castigatio*, comme le prouvent aussi bien le texte grec que le texte latin, où, d'ailleurs, le mot *apostasie* se maintient tel quel et n'est traduit qu'avec l'adjonction du mot *châtiment*, *παιδεία*, sans lequel la traduction serait totalement incompréhensible».[16]

13. A. Lolos, *op. cit.*, p. 96 (note 4).

14. A. Lolos, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22.

15. P.J. Alexander, *The oracle of Baalbeck*, Dumbarton Oaks 1967.

Nous croyons néanmoins que, si cela est valable pour la version originale en syrien, il serait fort possible que cela ne le soit pas pour la version grecque tout au moins. D'une part parce que les mots *apostasie* «ἀποστασία» et *châtiment* «παιδεία» ont une signification tout à fait différente, et d'autre part parce qu'au 11ème chapitre, le Ps.-Méthode rapproche les deux mots non pas sur le plan sémantique mais en leur attribuant une parenté pareille à celle des mots *cause* et *effet*. «Le châtiment donc dont parle l'apôtre, c'est-à-dire l'apostasie, c'est elle... car l'apostasie est un châtiment». «Ἡ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λεχθεῖσα παιδεία, ἤτοι ἀποστασία, αὕτη ἐστίν .... ἡ γὰρ ἀποστασία παιδεία ἐστί».[17]

On doit se demander quels sont les apostats et de quoi se sont éloignés. Qui sont, selon le Ps.-Méthode, les châtiants et qui les châtiés?

Je crois que le mot apostat qu'il emploie au 12ème chapitre désigne d'abord les Arabes, puis tous les peuples chrétiens soumis à eux et, en particulier, les Chrétiens des régions islamiques qui ont été convertis à la religion islamique. Mais l'apostasie s'effectue principalement par les citoyens du «royaume des Romains, dont plusieurs vont abjurer la vraie foi, la croix vivifiante et les Saints Mystères et qui, sans être forcés ou brutalisés, vont renier le Christ et suivre les apostats».[18]

Il est évident que l'écrivain qualifie d'apostats les Arabes eux-mêmes. Ce faisant, il exprime peut-être la croyance bien répandue chez les Byzantins à l'influence exercée sur Mohammed par un moine nestorien.[19] Ainsi la religion que ce dernier a imposée apparaît comme une hérésie chrétienne. Dans le langage de l'Église, d'ailleurs, les hérétiques étaient traités d'apostats.[20]

Voyons d'abord en quoi consiste l'essence de l'apostasie et premièrement du point de vue des Chrétiens. Le texte donne une image terrible des sujets de l'empire byzantin, image connue d'ailleurs par l'histoire. Ce que le Ps.-Méthode souligne, c'est la mauvaise situation sociale dans laquelle se trouvaient les hommes: Ils s'habillaient ostensiblement d'habits de femmes et vice-versa. La même femme appartenait en même temps au père et au fils d'une même famille. «Τί γὰρ οὐν ἐνεδιδύσκοντο οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν μοιχαλίδων γυναικῶν καὶ προϊσταμένων

16. M. Kmosko, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-86.

17. XI, 17.

18. XII, 3.

19. Ouvrage fondamental: A.Th. Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)*, Leiden 1972.

20. Voir la IIème Règle du 3ème Synode Oecuménique «Sur les évêques apostats». Cette Règle mentionne les évêques apostats nestoriens. A. Ἀλιβιζάτου, *Οἱ ἱεροὶ κανόνες*, Ἐν Ἀθήναις 1949², p. 42.

ἐσθήτων; καὶ καθάπερ γυναῖκες ἑαυτοὺς ἐξωραΐζον καὶ ἵσταντο ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις καὶ ἀγοραῖς τῶν πόλεων φανερῶς... ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ταῦτα, ἅπερ οἱ ἄνδρες ἔπραττον. Συνεγένοντο οὖν μιᾷ γυναικὶ πατὴρ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ τῆς συγγενείας προσψαύοντι· ἠγνοοῦντο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν εταιρίδων».[21]

La vie tourmentée, qui est suggérée par ce texte, constitue une déchéance et une impuissance à perpétuer la cohérence de la société surtout dans les provinces byzantines. L'écart des Chrétiens de la vraie foi et de la vie correcte entraîne fatalement une perturbation des relations humaines et une versatilité des idées.

C'est à ce moment-là qu'arrivent les «apostats», «les fils d'Ismaël» venant d'Agar, Ismaël étant appelé par Daniel dans l'Écriture «bras du sud». Ils vont s'affronter aux Romains pendant soixante-dix ans seulement car la fin du monde arrive bientôt et il n'y a plus de délai. «Οἱ... υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ ἐκ τῆς Ἄγαρ, ὃν ἡ γραφὴ βραχίονα τοῦ νότου ἐκάλεσεν, ἤγουν ὁ Δανιήλ, καὶ ἀντιτάξονται τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' ἀριθμῷ κυκλουμένῳ ἑβδοματικῷ ἑβδόμῳ χρόνῳ, διότι ἤγγικεν ἡ συντέλεια καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι μῆκος χρόνων».[22]

Le Ps.-Méthode trace le portrait des Arabes avec de courtes phrases et des mots isolés: leur sagesse et leur éducation est de si mauvaise nature qu'on ne peut pas les contredire. «Καὶ ἔσται ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ παίδευσις κακοφυὴς μὴ δυναμένη αὐτοῖς ἀντιμέμψασθαι ἢ ἀλλοιῶσαι αὐτῶν τοὺς λόγους».[23]

Il se garde bien de donner des explications et d'aller plus loin dans ses qualifications, ce qui s'explique facilement par sa crainte de se mettre en danger lui-même et de compromettre d'autres hommes. Les mots σοφία «sagesse» et παίδευσις «éducation» sont fort probablement une allusion indirecte à la religion de l'Islam, puisque c'est en elle principalement que les Arabes puisaient «sagesse» et «savoir». Cette opinion plus nuancée, qu'il s'empresse d'exprimer ici, redevient dans la suite polémique sévère: ce ne sont pas des hommes, ces barbares qui nous tyrannisent, mais des fils du désert. «Οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι οἱ τυραννικῶς κρατοῦντες βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου εἰσὶ καὶ εἰς ἐρήμωσιν ἥξουσιν· ἐφθαρμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ εἰς φθορὰν ἀποσταλήσονται· ἐβδελυγμένοι εἰσὶν καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἀσπάζονται».[24]

Au 14ème chapitre, où il est question de l'ère de l'Antéchrist, le Ps.-Méthode prédit que «l'Antéchrist va naître à Chorazine, grandir à Bethsaida et régner sur Capernaoum, il descendra de la race de Dan et se livrera à des signes et à des prodiges»; sans révéler le personnage auquel il fait allusion, il raconte ses prétendus miracles, la conquête de Jérusalem et sa tentative d'accéder à l'état divin.[25]

21. XI, 6-7.
22. X, 6.
23. XI, 15.
24. XI, 17.
25. XIV, 1.

Il serait utile de mentionner ici que c'est ce chapitre en particulier qui a poussé les hommes à identifier le personnage de l'Antéchrist à Mohammed, puis à l'Islam, aux Arabes et plus tard aux Turcs.[26]

Quel est maintenant le sens de l'expression «le temps du châtiment»?

Le châtiment apparaît comme un effet de l'apostasie et semble constituer avec elle une unité inséparable dont les deux membres ont un sens identique: «car l'apostasie est un châtiment».[27] «Leur présence est un châtiment impitoyable et sera annoncée par quatre fléaux, la ruine, le désastre, la destruction et la dévastation».[28]

L'image de la catastrophe rapportée par le Ps.-Méthode a un caractère différent pour chaque région. L'Arménie et ses habitants vont périr dans la captivité, la Cappadoce sera livrée au désastre, la Sicile à la dévastation, la Grèce à la corruption, la «Romanie» à la ruine, l'Égypte et la Syrie à l'esclavage.[29]

Les réussites «des fils d'Ismaël» dans leurs tentatives de conquête de plusieurs pays augmentent leur impétuosité et leur orgueil, ce que le Ps.-Méthode décrit très expressivement dans son texte: «καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν τῶν ὀλοθρευτῶν καὶ εἰς ὑπερηφάνειαν ἀρθήσεται. καὶ λαλήσουσιν ὑπέρογκα ἕως καιροῦ τοῦ τεταγμένου αὐτοῖς».[30]

Le changement du rythme de vie dans les ex-provinces byzantines se poursuit constamment.

Au début le Ps.-Méthode souligne très nettement l'empire des Arabes sur tout ce dont ils s'emparent: «Et tout sera sous leur joug, les hommes comme les bêtes, les oiseaux comme les eaux de la mer vont leur obéir».[31] Ce contrôle s'affermit avec le recensement des hommes, des animaux et des choses et ce recensement est rapporté dans l'intention de montrer que, dès le moment où les Arabes s'emparent des hommes et des choses, ils comptent immédiatement et entièrement sur eux comme sur des sources de richesse. L'économie de l'État islamique s'appuie aussi dans une grande mesure sur l'économie de ses esclaves.[32] La classe

26. Ouvrages fondamentaux: A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia*, vol. 1, Paris 1927 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et des Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 36). A. Argyriou, *«Sur Mahomet et contre les latins». Une oeuvre inédite d'Anastasios Gordios, religieux et professeur grec (XVIIe-XVIIIe s.)*. Édition critique accompagnée d'une introduction et de notes, t. 1 Introduction, t. 2. Texte, traduction et commentaire, Strasbourg 1967. A. Argyriou, *Les exégèses de l'Apocalypse composées en grec à l'époque turque (1453-1821)*. Ἀ. Καριώτογλου, *Ἡ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσλὰμ καὶ τῆς πτώσεως αὐτοῦ «ἑλληνικὴ χρησμολογικὴ γραμματεία» ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ 16ου μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 18ου αἰῶνος*, Ἀθῆναι, 1982.
27. XI, 17.
28. XI, 4.
29. XI, 9-12.
30. XI, 13.
31. XI, 13.
32. C. Cahen, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-47.

des Chrétiens riches aussi bien que celle des agriculteurs se met au service des Arabes. Raison de plus, les objets précieux des sanctuaires chrétiens passent entre les mains des conquérants. Cette profanation des lieux sacrés des Chrétiens est motivée par «la haine», apparemment à cause de la différence de religion. Les femmes des Arabes et leurs enfants se servent des habits sacerdotaux pour s'habiller et pour décorer leurs lits et leurs chevaux.[33] L'appropriation par les Arabes du potentiel humain et de la richesse matérielle des Chrétiens conduit parallèlement ces derniers à une humiliation sociale et morale [34] de sorte que tous sont pris «de silence et de peur» ne pouvant rien remettre en question.

La description de la réaction des Chrétiens est comme la conséquence de cette attitude des Arabes. «Le châtiment des fils d'Ismaël» entraîne la diminution du nombre des Chrétiens dans ces régions-là.[35]

La conversion des Chrétiens à l'Islam qui se fait par l'oppression constitue l'abaissement naturel de leur vie tourmentée et l'expression suprême de l'apostasie et, en réalité, il en est ainsi.[36] Selon le Ps.-Méthode cet état des choses conduit à un relâchement des mœurs des renégats et l'auteur décrit ce relâchement avec des mots très vifs. Il emploie les mêmes qualificatifs à l'égard des conquérants. «Les convertis sont ceux que les circonstances contraignent à l'erreur et qui seront des serviteurs dociles, obéissant à tous les ordres des Musulmans».[37]

En ce qui concerne ceux qui restent fermement attachés au Christianisme, l'image donnée par le Ps.-Méthode est tout aussi effrayante. Les Chrétiens des régions soumises aux Arabes seront moralement et physiquement exténués.[38] Chaque jour, dès le lever du soleil, ils sont importunés par les envahisseurs qui leur demandent des impôts ou les obligent à des travaux divers. Accablés par le besoin, ils vont même jusqu'à vendre leurs enfants.[39] Les envahisseurs restent indifférents devant cette exténuation morale. Plus encore, ils se livrent à des festins, fiers de leurs victoires et de leurs dévastations, habillés richement et déclarant avec une arrogance blasphématoire que les Chrétiens ne se délivreront jamais de leur joug.[40] Malgré tout cela le Ps.-Méthode prévoit l'anéantissement total des «fils» arrogants «d'Ismaël» quand «le temps s'accomplira et que le jour viendra où les Chrétiens chasseront Ismaël et dévasteront son pays. Les renégats vont retrouver leur foi première ou alors ils vont être châtiés. La sérénité et le bonheur régneront sur ces régions.

33. XI, 15.
34. XI, 18.
35. XII, 3
36. XII, 6.
37. XII, 7.
38. XIII, 1.
39. XIII, 4.
40. XIII, 6.

L'apocalyptisme se manifeste ici très vivement, se basant sur des croyances répandues largement à cette époque-là, particulièrement à Byzance.[41] Ces événements vont annoncer la fin du monde, mais entretemps, l'Antéchrist régnera pour un certain temps.

C. Conclusion

À part les renseignements et les sujets à discussion qu'il nous offre, le texte apocalyptique et eschatologique du Ps.-Méthode que nous avons examiné présente un caractère particulier. Cette spécificité consiste justement en cette parenté que le Ps.-Méthode essaie de rétablir entre la conception qu'il se fait de l'histoire, à travers les événements qu'il cite, et cette croyance à la fin du monde.

On a prétendu qu'on doit plutôt considérer ce texte comme une brochure de propagande politique qu'on a diffusée dans les régions soumises aux Arabes dans l'intention de rappeler aux Chrétiens que leurs pays appartiennent, quoi qu'il en soit, à Byzance.[42] La rédaction d'un tel texte était une chose fort aisée à l'époque, puisqu'en Orient la politique et la religion coexistent. L'adoption par l'écrivain de croyances religieuses et d'idées eschatologiques a rendu le texte très populaire.

Ce que je voudrais ajouter, c'est que, si tout cela est vrai, on pourrait néanmoins y jeter un coup d'œil moins rationnel en prenant en considération la mentalité particulière des Orientaux.

Le Ps.-Méthode a rédigé ce texte apocalyptique dans le but de faire dépendre ces nouvelles conditions de vie, nées après les conquêtes des Arabes, de la théologie ou de la philosophie de l'histoire. Entre les lignes de son texte se cachaient des motifs politiques basés sur l'idéologie œcuménique de Byzance ainsi qu'une religiosité qui émanait de la certitude de la victoire définitive du Christianisme. Ces éléments ont donné au texte du Ps.-Méthode son caractère spécifique.

Dans l'histoire des religions il est bien connu que de tels textes ont, à maintes reprises, joué un rôle culturel extrêmement important sur le plan politique, religieux ou moral.[43]

L'Apocalypse du Ps.-Méthode occupe une place tout à fait privilégiée dans la liste des œuvres de ce genre puisqu'elle a influencé bon nombre d'écrivains de textes analogues. Ainsi, depuis cette époque-là, plusieurs textes apocalyptiques ont

41. G. Podskalsky, *op. cit.* A. Vasiliev, Medieval Ideas of the End of the world, dans *Byzantion*, 24 (1942/43) 497 sq. C. Mango, Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism, dans *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, t. XXVIII (1965) 29-43. H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin*, pp. 115-128.

42. M. Kmosko, Das Rätzel des Pseudomethodios, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

43. G. van der Leew, *Phänomenologie der Religion*, 2. Auflage, Tübingen 1956, p. 433.

été écrits, aussi bien d'origine chrétienne que d'origine islamique, à caractère polémique.[44]

Il est utile, je crois, de mentionner, en terminant, l'opinion des chercheurs de la phénoménologie de la religion concernant le texte du Ps.-Méthode ainsi que tout autre texte apocalyptique. G. Widengren, chercheur bien connu, écrit à ce propos: «Dans les textes apocalyptiques, on peut trouver, dans les religions iranienne, juive, chrétienne, ainsi que dans celle de l'Islam, la coexistence d'un contenu purement eschatologique et de documents historiques. Cette association donne à l'apocalyptique son caractère spécifique. Les documents historiques se conçoivent dans leur ensemble pour pouvoir être interprétés eschatologiquement. À travers cette interprétation permanente ces documents apocalyptiques gardent leur fraîcheur et sont à même de jouer un rôle important dans les espérances des croyants».[45]

Alexandre Cariotoglou

44. M. Steinschneider, Apokalypsen mit polemischer Tendenz, dans *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 28 (1874) 627-659. A. Abel, L'Apocalypse de Bahîra et la notion islamique de Mahdî, dans *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 3 (1935) 1-12.

45. G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie*, Berlin 1969, p. 479.

موقف الفكر الاسلامى من الفلسفة اليونانيـــة (١)

بقلم : الاستاذ الدكتور محمد شامه

اقرت المجتمعات الانسانية ــ على اختلاف مذاهبها السياسية والعقديـــة والاقتصادية ــ حق الملكية الخاصة ، رغم ما بينها من تفاوت فى تحديد مجـــال هذه الملكية ، اذ يسود فى كل بقاع الأرض مبدأ ، أن ما للانسـان مـــن متاع وأموال لا يجوز لأحد اغتصابـه ، فليس لانسان كائن من كان ان يأخـــذ ما ليس له ، وان ساعدته الظروف على أن يأخذه عنـوة ، فانه يظـل فى دائرة عـدم الشرعية ، فلا يقره قانون ، ولا يرضى به ضمير الجماعة الواعى ، المـــدرك للحدود الفاصلة بين حقوق الأفراد والجماعات ، بل ان التنازع والتطاحن علـى الملكيـة والسيطرة يعطى الانطباع بأن هناك أمورا لا يملكها الانسان ، ولا يجوزله ــ على الأقل فى رأى أحد الطرفين المتنازعين ــ الاستحواذ عليها ، أو الانفـراد بمنفعتها دون الآخريـن .

يسري هذا المبدأ على كل ما يحيط بالانسان ، وتحرص كل المجتمعات المتحضرة ــ بل والبدائيـة فى غالب الاحيان ــ على تلقينـه وتعليمه للأطفال ، بل وتذكير الكبار به بين الحين والآخر ، غير أن هناك مجالا واحدا تعارفت البشريـــة على شيوعـه بين شعوبهـا ، فـلا يحـرم منـه انسان ، ولا يحـول بينـــه وبين طالبـه أحـد بـل ان صاحبـه يحـرص علـى أن يصـل الى كل الناس ، بـل يزداد سروره كلمـا رأى الجماعـات البشريـة تسعى للحصـول عليه ، ذلكـم

(١) بحث مقدم الى المؤتمر الدولى الأول للدراسات العربية اليونانيـــة الذى سيعقد فى الفترة من ٦/١٩ الى ١٩٨٣/٦/٢٤م بأثينـــا

هو الانتاج العقلى ، وهو ما تسطره أقلام العلماء والفلاسفة هو العلوم الانسانية بجميع فروعها ، فالعلم – كما قالوا – لا وطن له، وصاحبه لا يحرص على احتكاره ، لأن من طبيعته الانتشار ، ومن لوازمه أن يصل الى الناس ، فهو لا يخرج من منطقة الابداع فى الانسان – سواء كان ذلك فى صورة التعليم والتلقين الشفهى ، أو مسطورا بالقلم – الا بقصد توصيله للآخرين ، وانتفاعهم به وتصرفهم فيه تصرفا مطلقا ، فلا احد يحرم عليه استعمال نتائجه فى جميع مجالات حياته ، وما نسمعه اليوم من تحريم نقل التكنولوجيا – وهى من نتاج العلم المشاع بين الناس جميعا – من وطنها الى الأوطان الأخرى فلا يمثل القاعدة التى يجب أن يكون عليها وضع انتاج العقل البشرى ، من أنه يجب أن يكون فى متناول كل بنى الانسان ، لأن هذا الاجراء – وهو تحريم انتقالها – يمثل حجر عثرة فى سبيل تقدم الشعوب ، لجأ اليه أنانى لا يحب الا بنى جلدته ، أو جبار يريد أن يسيطر بامتلاكه لهذه التكنولوجيا على مقادير الشعوب الاخرى ، ويحدد مصائرها ، او مستغل يميل الى أن يمتلك وحده مايدره هذا الجانب من اموال ضحيا فى سبيل ذلك بالقضية التى تهم البشرية جمعاء الا وهى العمل على تقدم كل المجتمعات الانسانية حتى لا تظل الفجوة بينها عميقة ٠

ورغم القيود التى وضعها أمثال هؤلاء الناس أمام انتشار الانتاج العلمى، فان طبيعة وضعها فى حياة الأمم والشعوب سوف تتغلب على هذه القيود

لأن الانتشار خاصية من خواص العلوم فلا بد أن تكون الغلبة لها ٠

كذلك ترفض مجتمعات قبول بعض الاتجاهات الفكرية ، فتقيم الحواجز بينها وبين انتشارها بين المواطنين ، وتتخذ من الاجراءات مايحول بين الناس وبين معرفة هذه الاتجاهات ، اما خوفا على عقيدتها ، أو حفاظا على سلطان المؤسسات الثقافية والتعليمية فى بلدها ، لانها ترى أن هذه الافكار ستقوض من سلطانها على نفوس الناس ، فذلك أيضا وضع غير طبيعى – خاصة فى عصرنا الحال حيث ذابت الحواجز الثقافية والاعلامية بسبب التقدم الهائل فى مجال الاتصالات اللاسلكية سواء كانت مسموعة أو مرئية – ينبغى تركه ، كى يعود الامر الى وضعه الطبيعى ويأخذ انتشار الافكار بين المجتمعات البشرية طريقة السليم ٠

فاذا وضعنا هذه المسألة بابعادها المختلفة أمام الاسلام ، لم نجد فيه الا حثا على طلب العلم وتعليمه ، وتحذيرا من كتمان الحكمة والرأى الذى فيه نفع للناس ، ففى مجال طلب العلم يقول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : (طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة) ويقول : (اطلبوا العلم ولو بالصين) ويقول : (الحكمة ضالة المؤمن فأنى وجدها فهو أحق بها) كما ينفى القرآن الكريم أن يكون هناك مساواة بين من يعلم ومن لا يعلم فيقول: (قل هل يستوى الذين يعلمون والذين لا يعلمون انما يتذكر أولوا الألباب) ٠ (١)

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(١) الزمر ٩ ٠

وفى مجال وجوب تعليم الآخرين حذر الله المسلمين من أن يكونوا مثل من كتموا الحق ، لأن من يفعل ذلك يصيبه ما أصاب هؤلاء الذين منعوا تعليم غيرهم فقال: (واذ أخذ الله ميثاق الذين أوتوا الكتاب لتبيننه للناس ولا تكتمونه فنبذوه وراء ظهورهم واشتروا به ثمنا قليلا فبئس ما يشترون) (١) .

وقال : (ان الذين يكتمون ما أنزلنا من البينات والهدى من بعد ما بيناه للناس فى الكتاب أولئك يلعنهم الله ويلعنهم اللاعنون) (٢)

هذا هو موقف الاسلام من قضية العلم والتعليم ، لا يحرم على المسلمين تعلم أفكار الآخرين ولو بعدت أوطانهم ، ويحذر من احتكار الانتاج العقلى ، لأن مبادئه جاءت مطابقة للطبيعة البشرية ومن خصائص هذه الطبيعة أن يكون العلم كلا مباحا لكل الناس .

أثر هذا الاتجاه على المسلمين ، فانطلقوا يغرفون من منابع العلم فى كل مكان ، لا يمنعهم جنسيته أو عقيدته ، فأخذوا من الفرس والاغريق وغيرهما من شعوب الأرض على اختلاف نزعاتهم وتعدد أفكارهم ، ويعنينا هنا أن نتحدث عن موقف الفكر الاسلامى من الفلسفة اليونانية .

بدأ الاتصال بين العرب والثقافة اليونانية قبل الاسلام ، اذ عندما أغلقت مدارس الفلسفة فى أثينا واضطهد الفلاسفة ، فر مجموعة منهم

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(١) آل عمران ١٨٧ . (٢) البقرة ١٥٩ .

صوب الشرق لعبوا دورا كبيرا فى ازدهار المدارس الفلسفية التى نشأت فى الشرق ، وخلفت مدارس اليونان فى حمل الفلسفة اليونانية ، كان العرب قبل الاسلام على اتصال بتلك المدارس ، اذ قام السريانيون بنشر الفلسفة اليونانية فى العراق وما حوله فاتصل بثقافتهم بعض المهتمين بالثقافة من العرب مثل الحارث بن كلدة ، ومن بعده ابنه النضر بن الحارث الذى يحكى عنه ابن أصيبعة فى كتابه " طبقات الاطباء " بأنه اطلع على الفلسفة وأجزاء الحكمة .

كذلك اثبتت الأبحاث الحديثة بصورة قاطعة أن مراكز البحث الفلسفى كانت منتشرة فى العالم القديم الذى فتحه المسلمون وأن هذه المراكز لم يتوقف علمها العلمى بعد الفتح الاسلامى ، بل استمر الاتصال بها فى ظل الدولة الاسلامية ، فهم يحدثوننا أن خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية كان من أعلم قريش بفنون العلوم ، وكان له كلام فى صنعة الكيمياء والطب وكان بصيرا بهذين العلمين ، متقنا لهما ، وله رسائل دالة على معرفته وبراعته ، وأخذ الصنعة عن رجل من الرهبان يقال له مريانوس ، وله فيها ثلاث رسائل تضمنت احداها ما جرى له من مريانوس ، وصورة تعليمه منه ، والرموز التى أشار اليها .

ويقول ابن النديم : " ان خالدا عنى باخراج كتب القدماء فى الصنعة ، وكان خطيبا شاعرا فصيحا حازما ، وهو اول من ترجمت له كتب الطب والنجوم وكتب الكيمياء ، ولا ننسى أن المدارس الفلسفية فى انطاكيه وحران والرها ونصيبين استمرت فى تادية علمها العلمى فى ظل الدولة

الاسلامية ، كما لا ينسى احد ما بذلته الدولة الاسلامية من جهود في مجال ترجمة التراث اليوناني ، بل لا ينبغي لاحد أن ينكره أو يتناساه ، لانه عمل علمي لم يحدث مثله في تاريخ البشرية قاطبة .

من هذا نرى أن الثقافة اليونانية كانت محل عناية المسلمين في الأقطار المختلفة ، أخذوا منها وتعلموها ، حتى من لم يكن على دينهم ، بل انهم تعلموا منها مالم يوافق دينهم فيذكر ابن كثير أن علوم الأوائل ـ أي الفلسفة اليونانية وعلم النجوم وغيرها من معارف يونانية لم يوافق عليها العقل الاسلامي ـ نقلت في المائة الاولى ثم يزيده هذا الكلام توضيحا ما ينقله الينا الشيرازي في كتابه " الأسفار الأربعة " : ان المتكلمين الأوائل في عهد بني أمية عرفوا الفلسفة اليونانية حين نقلت بعض كتبها اليهم ... ويقول: ان هؤلاء ـ المتكلمين أخذوا تلك القواعد اليونانية التي عرفوها ، وجعلوها أساسا لفلسفتهم

ويلاحظ الباحثون في كتابات المتكلمين الأوائل من أمثال أبي الهذيل العلاف ، وهشام بن الحكم وغيرهما معرفة واسعة بالفلسفة اليونانية وتناولا لمصطلحات فلسفية مما يدل على أن الاتصال بين المسلمين وبين الثقافة اليونانية كان قويا مؤثرا على الحياة العقلية في المجتمع الاسلامي .

فقد وجدت في ظل الدولة الاسلامية مدارس للفكر اليوناني كانت استمرارا لمدارس ماقبل الاسلام ، كما نجد في ظل الدولة الاسلامية حملة للفلسفة كانوا خلفاء الاغريق ومن اتوا بعد الاغريق من الرومان والمصريين .

أصبحنا نجد بعد انتشار الاسلام دينا هو الاسلام بجوار فلسفة وحدة سياسية واحدة ، واصبحنا نرى ايضا مجالس لتعليم الدين الاسلامي ، وللتتلمذ في فهم القرآن والسنة بجوار مجالس أخرى للعلم اليوناني والفلسفة اليونانية .

فما هي يا ترى أسباب قبول الفكر الاسلامي للفلسفة اليونانية ؟

أهو الميل العقلي وحده لدى بعض المسلمين الذين اشتغلوا بالدفاع عن العقيدة ، كان السبب في قبول هذا البعض للآراء الإغريقية الالهية لأنها وليدة العقل الانساني ؟

أم هناك شيء آخر وراء هذا الميل دفعهم الى قبولها ؟

ان الرغبة العقلية لدى انسان ما تساعد فحسب على تناوله عملا عقليا ، وعلى النظر فيه ، وعدم طرحه بادئ ذي بدء ، ولكنها قد لا تكفي وحدها في تعليل قبوله لهذا العمل العقلي والحرص عليه ، أو التأثر به .

فوجود هذه الرغبة سبب مهيئ فقط للقبول ، وقبول المسلمين نفسه للآراء الاغريقية حينئذ ليس لان من قبلها منهم كان ذا ميل عقلي فحسب بل لاسباب أخرى أهمها : الدقة التي كان عليها المنطق الأرسطي وغيره من العلوم الرياضية ، وأثر هذه الدقة في نفوس المسلمين العرب التي لم تألف قبل ترجمتها الا أسلوب الاقناع ، ولم تتعود الا سعة الخيال ومرونته ، وتموجه في التصوير .

لكن غلوهم في الاقتناع بهذه الدقة جرهم الى الاعتقاد في عصمة العقل الاغريقي في المجالات الاخرى ، فدافعوا عنه بكل الطرق ، وفي هذا يقول الغزالي :

" وقد تولد عنها – أى العلوم الرياضية – ان من ينظر فيها يتعجب من دقائقها ، ومن ظهور براهينها ، فيحسن بسبب ذلك اعتقاده فى الفلاسفة ، ويحسب أن جميع علومهم فى الوضوح ووثاقة البرهان كهذا العلم " .

كانت هذه الدقة أشبه باغراء العقل الاسلامى على الاقدام على قبوله للناحية الالهية والانسانية من الفلسفة الاغريقية .. وتناول مافيها بالشرح والتوضيح ، ومحاولة التوفيق بينها – وخاصة فيما يتعلق بالالهيات – وبين العقيدة الاسلامية . وقد اشتهر بهذا العمل الفارابى حتى أطلق عليه : الموفق والشارح ، وكان متأثرا فى عمله هذا بمدرسة الاسكندرية ، اذ من المعروف أنه بعد أن نقلت الفلسفة من آثينا وروما الى الاسكندرية انصب العمل الفلسفى فى الفترتين اللتين عاشت فيها الفلسفة فى مدينة الاسكندرية فى السبعة قرون الأولى بعد الميلاد على التوفيق والانتخاب ، وهو توفيق وانتخاب من مدارس فلسفية اغريقية ، وضم المنتخب بعضه الى بعض فى وحدة واحدة مع ملاءمة بينه وبين ديانة شعبية ، أو بينه وبين المسيحية .

وعندما نقل مركز الفلسفة من الاسكندرية الى انطاكية ، ثم الى بغداد كانت الفلسفة المنقولة عبارة عن مزيج :–

١ – من عدة مدارس اغريقية ، وبالأخص من مدرستى : أفلاطون ، وارسطو .

٢ – ومن ديانة أخرى شرقية ، أو مسيحية .

واذا قلنا ان طابع الفلسفة المنقولة كان مزيجا من الأفلاطونية

والأرسطية والرواقية والتصوف الشرقى لم يكن ذلك القول غريبا فهى فى الواقع تمثل كل هذه المدارس ، وكل الاتجاهات الثقافية ما بين انسانية ، ودينية ، ووثنية .

وعندما وصلت الفلسفة عن طريق المدارس المسيحية فى الشرق الادنى الى المسلمين وصلت اليهم وهى تجمع كل هذه العناصر ، لكنها وصلت اليهم مغلفة بغلاف آخر . وصلت اليهم وقد علتها مسحة صوفية شرقية ، وفيها تأييد " بوحدة الأول " وبساطته ، ولهذا سربها المسلمون أول الامر وقدروا فيها " عصمة الحكمة " .

ومن اجل ذلك أيضا استبعدوا أن يكون للحكماء الاغريق مقصد يتعارض مع الاسلام طالما يقولون : " بالوحدة " فى العلة الأولى ، وطالما يرون الزهد طريقا لسعادة الانسان وان اعطى ظاهر عباراتهم ما يفيد هذا التعارض فى بعض الاحيان .

ولان المسلمين استبعدوا هذا القصد من الاغريق حاولوا ان يوفقوا بين أفلاطون وأرسطو عندما تبدو بينهما معارضة ، كما حاولوا التوفيق بين فلسفتهما من جهة ، والاسلام من جهة أخرى ، ان اعطى ظاهر النصوص فى الجانبين نوعا من التضارب بينهما : والفارابى واحد من مشاهير الفلاسفة المسلمين الذين ظنوا " الحكمة " فيما نقل اليهم من الفلسفة الإغريقية والذين اعتقدوا ان عظماء الحكماء من الاغريق يكاد يستحيل عليهم التضارب فيما يقولون .. وان حكمتهم يستحيل عليها أيضا : أن تختلف مع الاسلام .

علما بأن ما نقل اليهم ينطوى فى واقعة على التضارب ، فواقعه ذو ألوان عديدة كما بينا ذلك منذ قليل ، وهو ليس الا مغطى ببريق يخدع من لم يقف على حقيقته .

ولحسن ظن الفلاسفة المسلمين ـ ومنهم الفارابى ـ بالفلسفة الاغريقية ، وليقينهم بعدم تضارب الفلسفة مع الاسلام ، دخلوا التفلسف ـ وعلى الأخص الفارابى ـ على أساس " الجمع " بين الآراء الفلسفية و " التوفيق " فيما يبدو منها مختلفا بعضه مع بعض او مع الاسلام .

لا اريد أن أكثر من ضرب الأمثلة التى تبين جهد الفارابى فى التوفيق ، ولذا ساكتفى بذكر مثال واحد ، الا وهو التدليل على وجود الله ، ففى هذا المجال يستعير الفارابى من الافلاطونية الحديثة طريقها فيما يسمى " بالجدول النازل " و " والجدول الصاعد " وفى الحديث عن ذلك يستأنس بآية قرآنية ، وهو قوله تعالى : " سنريهم آياتنا فى الآفاق وفى أنفسهم حتى يتبين لهم انه الحق ، او لم يكف بربك انه على كل شئ شهيد "(١)

ونص حديثه :

لك أن تلحظ عالم الخلق فترى فيه آيات الصنعة ، ولك أن تعرض عنه وتلحظ عالم الوجود المحض ، وتعلم أنه لا بد من وجود الذات .

فان اعتبرت عالم الخلق فأنت صاعد .

وان اعتبرت عالم الوجود المحض فأنت نازل .

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(١) فصلت ٥٣ .

تعرف بالنزول : أن ليس هذا .... ذاك

وتعرف بالصعود : أن ليس هذا .... هذا

" سنريهم آياتنا فى الآفاق وفى أنفسهم حتى يتبين لهم أنه الحق أو لم يكف بربك أنه على كل شئ شهيد " .

وكان الفارابى يقول : هناك دليلان على وجود الله :ـ

الدليل الأول : أن ننظر الى المخلوقات أو الى ما يسميه هو : بعالم الخلق ـ وهو عالم ياتى بعد عالم الأمر أو عالم الملائكة ، وقبل هذا يكون عالم الربوبية ، أو عالم الوجود الالهى فتشهد فى المخلوقات صنعة تدل على صانع لها ، وهذا الصانع هو الله تعالى .

وهذا الدليل هو دليل تصاعدى : ننتقل من عالم الخلق الى الأعلى وهو عالم الوجود الالهى .

الدليل الثانى : أن ننظر الى " الوجود المحض " أى الى الوجود من حيث هو وجود فنصل من هذه النظرة الى أن هناك واجب الوجود لذاته وهو الله تعالى ، وهو السبب فى وجود الممكن ، والممكن هو ما بعد الله من عوالم ، هو عالم الأمر أو الملائكة ، وعالم الخلق أو المخلوقات وبالأخص الانسان .

وهذا الدليل على وجود الله دليل تنازلى ، لأنه من وجود واجب الوجود بذاته : يعرف عالم المخلوقات .. والعقل اذن فى هذا الدليل ينتقل من الأعلى وهو واجب الوجود بذاته أو الله .. الى الادنى وهو

وجود واجب الوجود بغيره ، أو المخلوقات .

ثم يجعل الآية التى استشهد بها هنا تعطى الطريقين فى الجدل وهما : الصاعد ... " سنريهم آياتنا فى الآفاق وفى أنفسهم حتى يتبين لهم أنه الحق " ... يشير فى تقديره الى الجدل الصاعد . فأمارات الله فى عالم المخلوقات ، وفى النفوس البشرية تعطى الدليل على وجود الله الحق ، فهى صنعة ، وكل صنعة لا بد لها من صانع ، والصانع هو الله تعالى : فهو دليل من الأدنى على الاعلى ، دليل المخلوقات على الله ، وعالم المخلوقات تجل لوجود الله ، فكأنه هو ... هو . وقوله :

" أو لم يكف بربك أنه على كل شىء شهيد " يشير فى تقديره ايضا الى الجدل النازل ، وهو الاستدلال بوجود الله على وجود عالم المخلوقات فالله هو الخالق وأمارة خلقه فى وجود هذا العالم ، فوجوده شهيد على وجود غيره ، وهذا دليل من الأعلى على الادنى والوجود الاعلى غير الوجود الادنى : ليس هذا ... ذاك ، وهذا التركيب الفلسفى للفارابى يتكون من عناصر ثلاثة :ـ

أ) العنصر الارسطى ، وهو عنصر الواجب بذاته ، والممكن بذاته ، وصلة كل منهما بالآخر .

ب) العنصر الافلاطونى الحديث وهو عنصر توجيه الاستدلال بكل منهما على الاخر : على أن يكون مرة من الأعلى الى الأدنى ، ومرة أخرى على العكس : من الادنى الى الاعلى مع تسمية وجه منهما بالجدول النازل ، والاخر بالجدول الصاعد .

جـ) العنصر الاسلامى وهو ما جاء فى الاية القرانية .

والتوفيق الذى ينسب هنا هو احتواء الاية بمطه الفلسفى على مضمون العنصرين الاولين وكأن هذين العنصرين يكونان معنى الاية القرانية ... وكأن القرآن فى اعتباره يترجم عن الفلسفة وعملية التوفيق هى : عملية " مقدم " و " تال " فى قياس منطقى أرسطى .

يجب الا ينسى الباحثون فى هذا المجال أن عمل الفارابى ـ ومن نحا نحوه من الفلاسفة المسلمين ـ لا يمثل الا جانبا من جوانب الفكر الاسلامى اذ من المعروف ان جمهرة علماء المسلمين لم يوافقوه على هذا المنهج حتى الذين قبلوا الفلسفة اليونانية استثنوا منها الجانب الالهى ، لأنه لا يتفق مع العقيدة الاسلامية . وليس معنى انهم لم يقبلوا هذا الجانب من الفلسفة اليونانية انهم حاربوا من يتعلمها ، او تعقبوه فى رزقه او عمله ... لا وما يحدثنا به التاريخ من حرق كتب بعض الفلاسفة واضطهادهم فليس الا حوادث استثنائية قام بها مجموعة لا تعرف فقه الاسلام فى مجال حرية الفكر ، لأن حرب الفكر واضطهاده ليس من طبيعة الاسلام فهو الداعى الى شد الرحال للتعلم ولو بالصين ، فالعلم فى المجتمع الاسلامى كلأ مباح للجميع ، لا يمنع عنه أحد ، ولا تقيد حريته فى البحث ، لكن هذا لا يمنع ان تقوم مجادلات فكرية حول ما يتنافى مع المبادىء الاسلامية

وذلك أمر لا يتنافى مع طبيعة الفكر البشرى ، فانه يتصارع ويتناطح في حدود مجال الجدل الفكرى ، وهذا هو ماحدث فى المجتمع الاسلامى بالنسبة لمن رفضوا بعض جوانب الفلسفة اليونانية وأشهر مثل على هذا ما قام به حجة الاسلام الامام الغزالى فقد صنف الفلاسفة الى دهريين وطبيعيين والهيين ، ثم قال: الصنف الأول : الدهريون وهم طائفة من الاقدمين : جحدوا الصانع المدبر ، العالم القادر ، وزعموا أن العالم لم يزل موجودا كذلك بنفسه وبلا صانع ،ولم يزل الحيوان من النطفة والنطفة من الحيوان كذلك كان وكذلك يكون ابدا وهؤلاء هم الزنادقة •

والصنف الثانى : الطبيعيون وهم قوم اكثروا بحثهم عن عالم الطبيعة وعن عجائب الحيوان والنبات ، واكثروا الخوض فى علم التشريح اعضاء الحيوانات •

ثم بعد أن يبين دقائق بحثهم يحكم عليهم بالزندقة أيضا معللا ذلك بأن أصل الايمان هو : الايمان بالله واليوم الاخر • وهؤلاء جحدوا اليوم الاخر وان آمنوا بالله وصفاته ، ثم يذكر ان الصنف الثالث وهم الالهيون ردوا على الصنفين الأولين من الدهريين والطبيعيين وأوردوا فى الكشف عن اخطائهم ما أغنوا به غيرهم عن القيام بهذا العمل ، الا أنه يقول انهم ـ الالهيين ـ استبقوا ايضا من رذائل كفرهم وبدعهم بقايا لم يوفقوا للتخلص منها فوجب تكفيرهم وتكفير شيعتهم من المتفلسفة الاسلاميين كابن سينا والفارابى وامثالهما •

وعلى الرغم من أن الغزالى رمى الفلاسفة كلهم بالكفر والزندقة ـ سواء كان ذلك بسبب انحراف مذهبهم كله ،او بسبب انحراف بعض آرائهم فى نظره ـ الا أنه حين تعرض لفروع الفلسفة من : رياضية ومنطقية ، وطبيعية ، والهية وسياسية ، وخلقية ، فانه قبل جميع فروعها جملة ـ وان هاجم بعض الاتجاهات فى كل فرع ـ الا فرع الالهيات ، فقد ذكر ان فيه أكثر أغاليط الفلاسفة ، وارجع اخطاءهم فى هذا الفرع الى عشرين ، كفرهم فى ثلاثة فقط وهى قولهم : ـ

١ ـ ان الأجساد لا تحشر وانما المثاب والمعاقب هى الأرواح المجردة والمثوبات والعقوبات روحانية لا جسمانية •

٢ ـ وقولهم ان الله تعالى يعلم الكليات دون الجزئيات •

٣ ـ وقولهم بقدم العالم وأزليته •

معللا ذلك بأن احدا من المسلمين لم يذهب الى شئ من هذه المسائل الثلاث •

هذه الحملة التى قادها الغزالى ضد الفلسفة والفلاسفة ، ان دلت على شئ فانما تدل على أن الأمر لم يتعد مجال الجدل الفكرى بدليل أن الفلسفة بقيت فى المجتمع الاسلامى ، وظلت تدرس فى جامعاته ومدارسه بعد الغزالى ، ولم تزل تدرس حتى اليوم ، مما يعطى انطباعا بأن المسلمين لم يقفوا من الفكر الاجنبى موقف الرافض المعارض لتعلمه ، المحارب له باساليب خارجة عن نطاق المعارضة الفكرية ، وهذه هى روح الاسلام:

حريسة فى الفكر ، تعلما ونقاشا وتحليلا ، ومحاورة ومعارضة الحجة بالحجة ، فما يحصل من الأفكار خاصية الثبوت والدوام بقى فى المجتمع ورسخ فيه ، وما كان مهلهل الصورة ، ضعيف البنيان ، ذهب واندثر ، وتلك سنة الله فى خلقه فأما الزبد فيذهب جفاء ، وأما ما ينفع الناس فيمكث فى الأرض

دكتور محمد شامه

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EAST AND WEST: MOSLEM INTELLECTUAL HISTORY DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

If one takes a map of the Moslem world from India and Central Asia in the east to Morocco and Black Africa in the west, and from Turkey in the north to Yemen in the south, and plots on it the names of the leading Moslem thinkers during the eighteenth century, one comes out with a group of individuals whose ideas and thought patterns represented a vibrant society still living and working within the standards of the great Islamic tradition. This was the last flicker of independent Moslem thinking before the entire area falls under the complete and onerous domination of an alien culture, namely that of the Christian West during the colonial period of the nineteenth century.

To the general student of Moslem history some of these persons may be familiar. To most they are not. In fact, there are no full-length studies of the lives and works of any of them, except perhaps for a few scattered articles here and there. And, moreover, there is no single work devoted to the history of Moslem thought in the eighteenth century, for which the present discussion attempts to present a few introductory and general remarks.

One: This is the period which in European history corresponds to the great period of the Enlightenment which preceded and led directly to the French Revolution of 1789. The European philosophers re-examined Western culture and ushured in the supremacy of the «citizen» and his rights in the modern, secular world. The eighteenth century Moslem *'ulamā'* (perhaps the exact equivalent of «philosophers») were also seriously considering the time-honored concept of *ijtihād*, i.e., new and original patterns of thought, and demonstrating definite signs of rebellion (if this is the proper term to use) against the dominating idea of *taqlīd*, i.e., following the ancients and remaining subservient to them. The politician, statesman, judge, and scholar, Muhammad ibn 'Alī ash-Shawkānī of Yemen, took time out from his political duties to write a long work on the latter-day original Moslem thinkers in order to refute the mistaken ideas prevalent at his time that Islam had lost its vitality after the classical-medieval period, and to prove that, in his words, «God the Provider of favors had been generous to the post-classical Moslem world as He had been gracious to the earlier periods of Islamic history».

IΩANNINΩN

> Even it could be asserted (Shawkānî adds) that there are those among the latter-day scholars whose knowledge and learning has been unequalled among the earlier writers - as will become apparent to whoever reads this book carefully...[1]

In almost every work he wrote Shawkānî took every opportunity to condemn those who blindly followed the ancients *(muqallidūn)* and urged everyone to exercise individual judgement *(ijtihād)*, i.e., original thinking, i.e., intellectual endeavors. In one of his writings Shawkānî says:

> It is far from being true to say that every *mujtahid* is correct simply because it is so, and that everyone of the *'ulamā'* has recognized the truth which God had ordained. By saying so it would appear that God's intentions are a matter that circulates exclusively among the ideas of *mujtahids* until doomsday. On the contrary (Shawkānî adds), every *mujtahid*, when he exercises *ijtihād*, that *ijtihād* is itself a fulfillment of God's intentions even though he (i.e. any *mujtahid*) may disagree with the *ijtihād* of others or contradict it altogether.[2]

This sentiment was echoed from the other end of the Moslem world in India by Shāh Walî Allāh Dihlawî who expressed it in the following words:

> The idea that a person who agrees with his master *(shaykh)* in most matters, but who knows a proof for every judgement which is satisfactory to him, and is aware of what he believes in, is not a *mujtahid*, is a decadent thought (*fāsid*, i.e., wrong). Similarly, the idea - based on the former premise - that no *mujtahid* exists in our own times is itself an idea based on a decadent thought (i.e., is also wrong).[3]

Such ideas, expressed here by two of the leading Moslem intellectuals of the eighteenth century but shared by many others during this period, are certainly contrary to the accepted norm of Moslem thinking which goes back to the height of the classical-medieval period when the great Islamic synthesis was formally established by such figures as Ash'arî and Ghazzālī (d. in A.D. 1111). The myth was that no *ijtihād* was permitted after, say, the twelfth century, and the conclusion by Western and Eastern scholars alike was that the Islamic system had become ossified with no new ideas to contend with until the West came in the nineteenth century and «awakened» the Moslem world from its deep sleep.

1. Muhammad ibn 'Alī ash-Shawkānī (1760-1832), *al-Badr at-Ṭāli' bi-Maḥāsin man ba'd al-Qarn as-Sābi'*, 2 vols., Cairo 1348/1930, I, 3.
2. Shawkānī, *Qutr al-Walī*, edited by Ibrāhīm Ibrāhīm Hilāl under the title *Wilāyat Allāh wa at-Tarīq ilayhā*, Cairo 1969, p. 326.
3. Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī, 1703-62, *'Iqd al-Jīd fī Ahkām al-Ijtihād wa at-Taqlīd*, Cairo 1329/1909, p. 32.

A closer look at eighteenth century Moslem realities leads one to conclude that there was a definite restlessness of thought demonstrated in various ways which might have brought about a radical change of outlook commensurate if not similar to developments in the European West before the French Revolution. What form this change would have taken is not possible to predict. The intellectual ideas that could have produced it, or were in the process of producing it, were completely arrested by the coming of the West and by the intrusion of a new and different cultural tradition representing the new world of the French Revolution. Napoleon, representing this new culture, lands in Alexandria two years before the end of the eighteenth century, and we can only repeat with Jabartī:

وهي اول سني الملاحم العظيمة والحوادث الجسيمة والوقائع النازلة
والنوازل الهائلة، وتضاعف الشرور وترادف الأمور وتوالي المحن
واختلال الزمن وانعكاس المطبوع وانقلاب الموضوع، وتتابع الاهوال
واختلاف الاحوال وفساد التدبير وحصول التدمير، وعموم الخراب
وتواتر الاسباب... الجبرتي، عجائب الآثار، بولاق ١٨٧٩
ج ٣ ص ٢

> This is the first year of the great catastrophes, the monstrous events, the terrible calamities! Evils have multiplied; the affairs of state have become tragic; and misfortunes have descended upon us all. Time has become perverse; things have gone contrary to nature, and the situation is upside-down in confusion and disarray![4]

This is the jist of Jabartī's words as he begins the second half of his great history *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār* starting with the Napoleonic invasion. The original Arabic is much more graphic, but essentially defies translation. Jabartî himself was the product of the centuries-old Islamic tradition. He knew very well the proper order of things in the only world he knew. That is why he could view the Napoleonic affair only as a thing «contrary to nature» - the nature of Jabartī's world.

Two: Jabartī's world is the world of the eighteenth century Moslem writers, scholars, and thinkers, who are here called «intellectuals». The eighteenth century sources are full of their names, their writings, and their activities. Most of these sources, unfortunately, are not readily available to the modern researcher, except perhaps Murādī's biographical dictionary of the eighteenth century, *Silk ad-Durar*.[5] More important, the works of these scholars have either not been edited

4. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī, *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fī at-Tarājim wa al-Akhbār*, Cairo, Būlāq, 1879, III, 2.
5. Muhammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk ad-Durar fi A'yān al-Qarn al-Thānī-'ashar*, 4 vols., Cairo 1874-1883.

at all, or we possess very poor editions of some of their works which have not been critically studied, and hence are not exactly useful for a proper evaluation of the ideas and thoughts of these intellectuals. Furthermore, secondary materials on the Moslem world of the eighteenth century are almost non-existant. The well-known work by Gibb and Bowen on Islamic society in the eighteenth century was never completed,[6] and the papers read at a colloquium in 1971 (sponsored by the Near Eastern History Group, Oxford, and the Middle East Center, University of Pennsylvania) and later published under the title *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* are only a good start.[7] Modern writers, Western and Eastern alike, have woefully neglected this period of Islamic history, or else decided without looking into it that it constituted the lowest period of Moslem decline. They all rushed to study the impact of the West on Islamic society and the reaction of Moslems to this Western impact. They are still doing so with the curious result that hardly anyone is able to understand and explain the so-called Islamic revival in the world today - a phenomenon that is essentially the continuation of the Moslem thinking of the eighteenth century from which it was forcefully and cruelly separated by the devastating experience of almost two centuries of foreign colonial rule. It is only now after Moslem societies were able to throw off the Western yoke that Moslem thinkers are able to look at their great cultural tradition with their own eyes. They find it good and meaningful, and they evidently would like to live by its spiritual precepts.

Three: A quick review of eighteenth century Moslem intellectuals will yield very important results worthy of further study, understanding, and interpretation.

In Mughal India, Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī was by far the leading intellectual of that part of the Moslem world. In his major work, *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, he states among other things that actions are not simply governed by intentions but also by the psychological conditions of the persons who perform those actions, and that laws are based on utilitarian principles *(masālih)*.[8] He has been described as having been «much ahead of his times, a revolutionary thinker who attempted... the re-integration of the socio-economic and the religio-ethical structure of Islam».[9] In 1798, two years before the century closes, the last Moslem resistance

6. H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (London 1950), pt. 2 (London 1957).

7. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, editors, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, Southern Illinois University Press, 1977.

8. Dihlawī, *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, ed. as-Sayyid Sābiq, Cairo, n.d. (1960's), I, 9-11.

9. A.S. Bazmee-Ansari, «al-Dihlawī, Shāh Walī Allāh», *E.I.*[2] See also S.A.A. Rizvi in *Cambridge History of Islam*, II, 71 ff.

to British military power comes to an end, and India becomes the jewel of the English crown.[10]

Central Asia, the land of the Uzbeks and other Moslem Turkic people, seems to have maintained its reputation as a center of Moslem learning till the end of the eighteenth century. A modern scholar tells us, «Educational institutions... in Khiva, together with Bukhara, had an especially high reputation. Students came to them from India and Kashmir, from Russia and eastern Turkistan. Tradition has it that the total number of theological students round about 1790 was approximately 30.000».[11] Very soon the whole area will fall under Russian Tsarist domination.

Iran which saw the rise of the Shī'ī state of the Safavids in the early sixteenth century witnessed very important developments in Shī'ī thought during the confused political period of the eighteenth century. The great Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī died at the very beginning of the century; but the works of Bihbahānī (Āghā Muhammad Bāqir) and Bahr al-'Ulūm (Āghā Sayyid Muhammad Mahdī) preserved the continuity between the Safavid and the Qājār periods, and Āyatullāh Khomeini is a direct descendant of these earlier divines.[12] On the other hand, Ni'mat Allāh al-Jazā'irī and Muhammad 'Alī «Hazīn» left autobiographical sketches which are a mine of information on humanitarian aspects of Moslem intellectualism; while Shaykh Ahmad-i Ahsā'ī was so novel in his Shī'ī views that he is considered a founding father of the Bābī-Bahā'ī faith.[13]

One of the most interesting documents of this period were the minutes of the famous Sunnī-Shī'ī «conference» that took place in Najaf towards mid-century. The dialogue was inspired by the political ambitions of the Iranian ruler Nādir Shāh Afshār, and the record was preserved by the Iraqi historian 'Abd Allāh as-Suwaydī who also served as the umpire between the contending parties.[14] That nothing came out as a result of the deliberations at Najaf was an indication of the wide gap that separated the two great dimensions of the Islamic tradition - which in itself, incidentally, is not exactly an unhealthy phenomenon. The Suwaydī family of scholars, as well as the 'Umarīs of Mosul and later the Ālūsīs of Baghdad, will tell more about the intellectual climate of opinion prevalent in that part of the Arab-Moslem world in the eighteenth century.

10. Moslem resistence was led by Sultān Tīpū; see e.g., Michael Edwardes, *A History of India*, Mentor edition, 1967, p. 213.

11. Berthold Spuler in *Cambridge History of Islam*, I, 479.

12. On Bihbahānī and Bahr al-'Ulūm see Mīrzā Muhammad Tanakābunī, *Kitāb Qisas al-'Ulamā'*, Tehran, n.d., pp. 168-75 and 199-204.

13. Jazā'irī, *al-Anwār an-Nu'mānīyah*, Tabrīz 1961, IV, 302-326; Hazīn, *The Life of Sheikh Mohammed Ali Hazin*, transl. by F.C. Belfour, London 1830; and H.Algar, *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906*, Un. of California Press, 1969, p. 7 ff. (on Ahmad-i Ahsā'ī).

14. Suwaydī, 1692-1760, *al-Hujaj al-Qat'īyah li-Ittifāq al-Firaq al-Islāmīyah*, Cairo 1323/1905.

The heart of the Moslem world, Syria-Palestine-Egypt, was one of the two important foci of Moslem intellectualism during the period under consideration. (The other was Istanbul which will be considered below). The geographical significance of this area was due to the fact that pilgrim-scholars on their way to the Ḥijāz invariably stopped in Cairo, Jerusalem, and Damascus, and met with the resident intellectuals, compared notes with them on various points of interest, read some of their works with them, and invariably obtained from them the all-important *ijāzah* enabling them to use them as references in their own future work when they returned to their country. The Pilgrimage route was the greatest catalyst of Moslem intellectualism; and in the words of George Sarton, «As far as scholars were concerned, the Pilgrimage was the medieval equivalent of the voyages for research, faculty exchanges, etc., of our own times». He was talking in 1950![15]

In Damascus, 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī is perhaps the best known figure among the eighteenth century Moslem writers. Everybody knew Nābulusī, had met him, or had read some topic with him. His younger countryman Murādī calls him *ustādh al-asātīdh* (the teacher par excellence), and his name is mentioned almost on every page of *Silk ad-Durar.* Hysayn Khūjah, a young scribe from Tunisia, visited the 80-year old Nābulusī in Damascus, checked with him a difficult point in Bayḍāwī's *Tafsīr*, and enjoyed an altogether delightful afternoon talking and smoking. On another day he met Nābulusī at the latter's Sūfī «club» outside the city and was taken on a tour of the establishment.[16] Describing one such Sūfī center in Tripoli which he visited on one of his famous travels, Nābulusī says:

> The *qāḍī* Yaḥyā Efendī invited us... to the Mawlawīyah with its beautiful streams and lovely location. We went there and strolled around and visited the buildings... We met there many friends and respected gentlemen, and discussed with them several scientific topics *(abḥāth 'ilmīyah)* and literary anecdotes. We also listened to music and song... We noted in the hands of the said *qāḍī* a historical text...

which Nābulusī describes in the next two pages.[17] In passing it should be noted that these Sūfī places were in many ways the most meaningful social institutions throughout the Moslem world. Gibb once observed that «the survival of official Islam as a religion in any true sense between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries was due to the nourishment which it drew from the Sūfī brotherhoods».[18]

15. George Sarton, *The Incubation of Western Culture in the Middle East* (a lecture delivered on March 29, 1950), Washington, D.C. 1951, p. 21.

16. Husayn Khūjah, *al-Dhayl li-Kitāb Bashā'ir Ahl al-Īmān...*, Tunis, 1326/1908, pp. 244-46.

17. Nābulusī, *at-Tuḥfah an-Nābulusīyah fī ar-Riḥlah at-Tarābulusīyah*, Princeton Un. Library, Yahuda collection, MS. No. 3395, pp. 34a-b.

18. H.A.R. Gibb, «Structure of Religious Thought in Islam», in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. S.J. Shaw and W.R. Polk, Beacon Paperbacks, 1973, p. 217.

Sayyid Murtadā az-Zabīdī, 1732-1791, presided magisterially over Moslem intellectual life in Cairo during the eighteenth century. The historian Jabartī served almost as Zabīdī's Boswell:

> His fame increased, and people from everywhere came to listen to him... Many notables would invite him to their homes where he would go accompanied by the best of his students, the reader, someone who would take dictation, and another who would record the names. Zabīdī would then read to those in attendance certain sections from Hadith manuals *(al-ajzā' al-hadīthīyah)* in the presence of the group, the owner of the house, his friends and his loved ones, his sons, daughters, and womenfolk sitting behind curtains... The recorder would then write down the names of those present among the audience including the women, children, and girls, with the day and date on which the meeting took place. The Shaykh (i.e., Zabīdī) would then place his own endorsement at the bottom of the sheet.[19]

And a few lines further down Jabartī adds:

> I used to see and be present at most of these sessions and courses of study, and at other private meetings at his house and at his old lodgings in Khān as-Sāghah, and at our house in as-Sanādiqīyah and Būlāq, and at other places we used to go to for walks like Ghayt al-Ma'dīyah, al-Azbakīyah, etc. where we used to spend most of the time discussing the recent chapters (i.e., which Zabīdī had just written), and indulge in other conversation.[20]

Zabīdī's fame rests on two major multi-volume works: his commentary on Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, and his more famous dictionary *Tāj al-'Arūs.* These are by far the two most important contributions to Moslem intellectual thinking during this period. To describe them here would be a monumental task. At one place in his commentary Zabīdī indulges briefly in explaining a variant reading of the famous Koranic verse, *innamā yakhshā Allāh-u min 'ibādihi al-'ulamā'-a:* does God really fear the 'ulamā' (surely a profane thought), or does He honor and respect them (a secondary meaning of the word *yakhshā*)?[21] At another place he discusses the question of what absolute knowledge is *(māhīyat al-'ilm al-mutlaq):* whether it is necessary *(ḍarūrī)* as Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī maintained, or «theoretical and difficult to define» (naẓarī *ya'suru ta'rīfuh*) which is Ghazzālī's own view, or «theoretical but not difficult to explain» *(naẓarī ghayr 'asīr at-ta'rīf)* which, as Zabīdī says, «is the most probable of the three views» presented (and by which we should understand to be his own view on this subject).[22] Later he questions Ghazzālī's view that law *(sharī'ah)* should be obeyed without discussion,

19. Jabartī, *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār*, II, 199-200.

20. *Ibid.*, II, 200.

21. Zabīdī, *Sharḥ al-Iḥyā'* (short title), Cairo 1311/1894, I, 68-69. The verse is *Koran* 35:28.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 64.

and maintains that argument is itself a legal precept conceived for cooperation (among the people) to arrive at the truth.[23]

In his Dictionary, Zabīdī reflects on the concepts of knowledge and time, which bring to mind ideas on *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* by Shawkānī and Dihlawī mentioned earlier:

> If knowledge is granted by God (Zabīdī says), it should not be far-fetched to assume that some of it which was not understood by the early scholars was saved for the later ones to understand. In other words (he continues), the passage of time is not a virtue in itself, for times are the same. The important thing is the men who exist at a given time. Truth is timeless: someone may very well be true in his views and criticism now, while someone else may have been wrong in his understanding in the past... Mere dependence on the past is destruction to him who follows it, and pain.[24]

Almost at the very beginning of his work Zabīdī had already stated that «an idea is good or bad in itself, and not because it is old or new» *(innamā yustajād ash-shay' wa yustardhal li-jūdatih wa radā'atih fī dhātih, lā li-qidamih wa ḥudūthih).*[25]

When North African pilgrims returned home to the Maghrib, the first question their friends asked them was whether they had seen Zabīdī in Cairo. If the answer was in the affirmative, their Pilgrimage was deemed complete and acceptable in the eyes of God *(mabrūr).*[26]

In the Maghrib itself, the figure of Abū al-Qāsim az-Zayyānī, the statesman-scholar of the 'Alawid dynasty of Morocco, marks a high watershed of intellectual activity during the period under discussion. His *at-Tarjumānah al-Kubrā*, a record of a journey he made to Turkey and the central Islamic world, demonstrates the closeness and essential unity of Islam before France moves in to seal the fate of Moslem North Africa for almost two centuries.[27] In black central Africa, on the other hand, the continuous process of Islamization received new impetus during the late eighteenth century at the hands of Shehu Usuman dan Fodio (Shaykh 'Uthmān ibn Fūdī, 1754-1817) assisted by his younger brother Abdullahi and his son Muhammadu Bello. All three represented a «high Islam» tradition of law and theology, their aim being to organize the life of the converted tribes along established Islamic principles in the area known today as the Northern Region of the state of Nigeria. These three leaders left numerous and important writings which

23. *Ibid.*, I, 174. The original is worth quoting: *inna al-Sharī'ah khitāb lil-jumhūr wa-lā ihtijāj fīhā* (Ghazzāli's position); *al-jidāl sharī'ah mawdū'ah lil-ta'āwun 'alā izhār al-haqq* (which is Zabīdī's view).
24. Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, Kuwait edition, I, 93.
25. *Ibid.*, I, 11.
26. Jabartī, *op. cit.*, II, 200-201.
27. Zayyānī, *at-Tar jumānah al-Kubrā*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Filālī, Rabāt, 1967.

form a distant but integral part of Moslem intellectualism in the eighteenth century.[28]

Moving north to the political center of the Moslem world of the eighteenth century one meets with the last of the great Moslem universal historians, Ahmad ibn Lutf Allāh sometimes better known as Munajjim-bāshī. His voluminous work, *Jāmi' ad-Duwal* remains unedited, and all we have of it is a three-volume summary in Turkish done by the poet Nedim entitled *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār*, published in Istanbul at the new printing press introduced by Ibrāhīm Müteferrika.[29] Munajjim-bāshī died almost at the dawn of the eighteenth century: he spent his very last year in Mecca where he wrote a highly original treatise on the «art of reading» *(Ādāb wa Sharā'iṭ al-Muṭāla'ah)* and how best it can be profitably done by students and scholars at various stages of their careers. The work is still unedited, and deserves a special treatment and study. Hasan al-Jabartī, the historian's father, picked up a copy of this treatise while on a trip to Mecca - the Leiden manuscript has his signature on the title-page.[30] Müteferrika himself, who introduced printing to Istanbul in 1729, left behind two very interesting treatises: one entitled *Uṣūl al-Ḥukm fī Niẓām al-'Ālam* on the principles of government, which was published at his new press in 1732; and another treatise called *Risālah-yi Islāmīyah* which is still in manuscript form, and which Niyazi Berkes (the McGill University historian of secularism in Turkey) describes as a «major contribution to the Turkish intellectual and cultural awakening».[31]

A final word in this general survey is reserved for the movement of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb of the Arabian Peninsula whose dates, 1703-1792, span the entire eighteenth century - not so much as a puritanical and, as many have unjustifiably stressed, a reactionary *(salafī)* movement, but rather as perhaps the only intellectual movement in Islam during the eighteenth century which was actually translated into political action (which was temporarily destroyed by the concerted efforts of Egyptian and Ottoman armies, but which has survived, albeit modified, in the modern state of Saudi Arabia). It is only after looking at Wahhābism in this light that one can begin to understand the various so-called «reform movements» of the nineteenth century many of which it directly influenced.

A student of Indian Islam, Fazlur Rahman, aware of the great influence Wahhābism had on almost all reform movements in the Indian sub-continent during the nineteenth century, has this to say about the Wahhābī-unitarians:

28. As an introduction to this subject see M. Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth: the Life and Times of the Shehu Usuman dan Fodio*, Oxford Un. Press, 1973, especially the bibliographical essay pp. 177-183.
29. Munajjim-bāshī, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1285/1868.
30. Leiden University MS. No. Or. 2658.
31. Niyazi Berkes, «Ibrāhīm Müteferrika», *E.I.*[2]

> Their insistence on the right of *ijtihād* (independent thinking) and their condemnation of *taqlīd* (blind adherance to the past) acted as a great liberating force, and, despite the strong opposition displayed towards them in the early stages on both the political and religious planes, has affected the temper of subsequent Islamic developments perhaps more than any other single factor.[32]

While Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, perhaps the best interpreter of modern Islam to the West, after listing all the things the Wahhābīs rejected (following a kind of negative argument to arrive at the truth), sums up his final judgement in the following words:

> Their rejections were vehement. Yet their movement was not purely negative; the positive kernel of their faith was mighty and compelling.[33]

Four: What has been attempted above is a general survey of a number of Moslem writers and thinkers chosen from various parts of the Moslem world between the years 1700 and 1800. This is the period of the twelfth century of the *Hijrah* which corresponds to the eighteenth Christian century - the important historical period which directly preceded Western interference and foreign occupation of most of the Moslem lands. The discussion was done within the context of Islamic civilization, the cultural tradition which these writers and their societies knew. To them the West and the developments that were taking place in it at the same time were an unknown quantity.

Some of the ideas of these scholars as seen in their writings and in their activities were introduced in a preliminary fashion. In certain cases more details were given than in others; but in all cases, more can still be said, which awaits a further study and evaluation of the sources.

Two tentative remarks may be made by way of conclusion. The first is that, from a cursory examination of some of the writings of this select group of intellectuals, all indications point to the existence of an active and productive life of thought and ideas which was in the process of becoming a new and unified intellectual movement, and which was expected to lead to radical changes in the political, social, and cultural life of Moslem societies. At exactly this time, the West came with its armies of occupation, its administrators, and its ideas. Thus, original Moslem ideas of change had no chance to grow and develop in their own homeland away from the new and different ideas «imported» from the West. Perhaps one can talk of an «arrested growth» of the ideas of the eighteenth century Moslem intellectuals.

32. Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, Oxford, Weidenfeld, 1966, p. 198.
33. Wilfrid Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, Mentor Books, 1959, p. 50.

The second remark has to do with the outside possibility that, as a result of the ideas of the eighteenth century Moslem intellectuals (in addition to other political and social factors operating at the same time), the Moslem world was expected to be engulfed within a French Revolution type cataclysmic change (to be followed, as in Europe, with the other revolutions of the nineteenth century) which would have totally transformed the traditional Moslem way of life. It should perhaps be added that European revolutionary history, including the Marxist-Leninist variety, has not resolved what appear to be certain endemic problems in Western Christian society. Witness the indescribable destruction and loss of life during the two world wars (the total responsibility of contradictions in the Western way of life) and the everthreatening possibility of a third one!

Within the context of the Islamic cultural tradition, the idea embodied in the first remark (that of evolutionary change) could have taken root had Western presence not been so overwhelming. In fact, it appears that today (after almost two centuries of Western colonialist domination, and after the Moslem countries had gained their independence politically and emotionally - a process which took final shape following the end of the second world war) there are definite signs of what has been termed «Islamic revival» throughout the Moslem world. What this possibly means is that, for the first time since the year 1800, the Moslem world is intellectually on its own. The «two silent centuries» of Western tutelage will have to be bridged; and whatever new and original ideas will come out from the present «revival» will have to take into consideration the pre-Western developments in the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the idea embodied in the second remark (that of revolutionary change) would most probably not have taken place. No one of the intellectuals discussed in the present study preached any type of revolution; and in any case, Islam apparently does not accept or condone revolutionary change *(fitnah)* - an idea here made tentatively since, evidently, it requires more investigation. However, a Khomeini-type «revolution» like the one we are witnessing in Iran today, will probably not have occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. Although its religious objectives are forceful, a revolution of this type appears to be more against Western ideas than a validation of Islamic norms.

And in any case, both remarks are theoretical: a definitive answer to either of them is not possible. The fundamental changes that happened throughout the world (and not only in the Moslem countries) after the year 1800 are such that no cultural tradition, Islamic or Western, could henceforth be studied completely on its own.

Michel M. Mazzaoui

THE CONCEPT OF UMMAH

There is no doubt of the importance of the concept of ummah, community of believers, to Islam both in its classical form and in the various modern manifestations. A Western scholar, Sir Hamilton A.R. Gibb, writes: «The key word for everything that has to do with Islamic culture is umma community. It is in the historical development of this concept and its modalities that the true significance of Islamic history and culture must be sought».[1] The significance of the Ummah for Muslims is central. Abdo A. Elkholy says: «The Muslim community still remains an unreached ideal, but it shines like a guiding star ever stimulating the Muslim to strive toward ultimate unity».[2] Indeed the Medinan community is a paradigm for all later Muslims to emulate as having been «the best of times» (khair al-qurūn) under the leadership of Muhammad.[3] This helps us to understand the significance of the way in which the Islamic concept of Ummah arose and developed during the lifetime of the Prophet.

In this paper an attempt is made to follow the process by which the term Ummah was given an Islamic content. The main textual sources will be the so-called «Constitution of Medina» and relevant quranic verses, and these will be analysed on the background of pre-Islamic Arabian concept of community organization.

Etymology and meaning of the term Ummah

First of all let us start with the etymology and meaning of the word. The opinions of scholars concerning the etymology of the term ummah vary. It derives either from the Arabic umm (=mother), or is an ancient or recent borrowing from

1. Sir Hamilton A.R. Gibb, «The Community in Islamic History» in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 108 (1963), p. 173.

2. Abdo A. Elkholy, «The concept of Community in Islam», *Islamic Perspectives, Studies in honour of Sayyid Abul a'la Mawdudi.* (Islamic Foundation, Leicester, 1979), p. 180.

3. Muzzamil Siddiqi, *Newsletter*. No 6, November 1981, Published by the Centre for the study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Birmingham, eds. D. Kerr and Hasan Askari, p. 17.

another source, Sumerian or Hebrew, or it derives from the Arabic verbal root amma.[4] In any case, it is very likely that the meaning of the word ummah has been affected by the meaning of the verbal root amma. It could mean a way, course of action or conduct; a religion; the people of a religion; a nation, a race, a tribe, a collective body, a genus or generic class by itself; a man's people or party; a generation of men; the creatures of God (6: 38); a righteous, a learned man; a period of time.[5]

The word was used in pre-Islamic Arabia in the sense of sunnah (=conduct, custom) in this verse of the Christian poet Nabighā: «wa hal ya'thaman dhū'ummatin tā i'u».[6] However, it was Muhammad who used the word and after him it became the most important term for the Muslim community. When it was introduced it had a vague meaning. According to W.M. Watt, «Ummah was the sort of word that could be given a new shade of meaning and it was capable of further development subsequently».[7] Generally speaking the word indicates some sort of communal life. It was used for the community engendered by the breaking away of the followers of Muhammad from the tribal system prevailing in Arabia at that time.

Communal organization in pre-Islamic Arabia

Indeed the milieu in which Muhammad was born did not have developed political concepts. «The state was not an institution and not a territory but a collective body».[8] The political unit was not «the city but the tribe - thus the Quraysh in Mecca, the Thaqīf in Tā'if».[9] The Arab tribe was defined as a kinship group. This group was held together internally by the claimed blood-tie of descent in the male line - but previously in some cases in the female line - externally by the need for self-defence. The tribe was a group of clans under a recognized chief and usually claimed a common ancestor. That is why genealogy had developed. The pride of descendancy was the most cogent factor for the tribe. But it frequently resulted in rivalry and jealousy among them. Again these rivalries and conflicts encouraged political groupings and strengthened the cohesiveness of the intertribal

4. I have discussed the problem in the unpublished dissertation: Elias Giannakis, *Ummah. Aspects of the concept of ummah in its formative period*, submitted to the University of Birmingham, 1981, pp. 3 ff. Cf. W.R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, ed. S.A. Cook, (London, 1903), p. 32. J.Horovitz, *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran*, (Hildesheim, 1964), p. 46.

5. E.W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon* (London, 1863-93), in «ummah».

6. J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), p. 52. Cf. Q. 34:21-23.

7. W.M.Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, (Oxford, 1956), p. 240.

8. J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, trans. M.G. Weir, (London, 1927), p. 3.

9. Ibid., p. 3

life.[10] The members of the tribe were Bedouins who led a pastoral and nomadic life. The tribes moved around the peninsula of Arabia. Several of them had settled and developed agricultural or mercantile towns, for instance, Medina and Mecca. The members of the tribe had rights and duties within limits. The individual «stood up for his fellow member and was responsible for his acts».[11] If a man killed one of his own kin, he was either put to death by his own people or was outlawed and outcast. He could only take refuge in an alien group.[12] If a member killed a member of another tribe the duty of that blood revenge devolved upon each member of the tribe. Compensation, i.e. diya, could be paid if agreement was reached. Thus the tribe guaranteed safety and security.

The life of the tribes was regulated by the sunnah, i.e. custom, practice of the ancestors, or dīn al-'Arab, i.e. the ways of the Arabs. The religion of the tribe was some sort of polydaemonism and it was certainly different in different geographical areas.[13] A variety of gods were worshipped and the tribal god was usually symbolized by a stone. A sanctuary developed for the religious life of the tribe. This was guarded by the relatives of the Sheikh of the tribe. A priestly family usually cared for the sanctuaries.[14] A man of a priestly family could exert a great influence upon the life of the tribe.

The head of the tribe was the Sayyid or Sheikh. He was acknowledged for his qualities rather than being elected. He was advised by a «council of elders» called Majlis and functioned as an arbitrator (hakam). He could extend his power only through his personality.[15]

The physical or geographical neighbourhood influenced the growth of larger groupings. Groups of tribes formed a larger group and built and maintained a stronghold (utum) for defense purposes.[16] Thus locality was important. The extent of security was within the territory of such a political grouping. Intermarriage between adjacent clans strengthened these groupings. The formation of large groups was a widespread tendency in tribal life in Muhammad's times.[17] Besides, the institutions of jiwār, hilf and walā' constituted further means to mitigate the exclusiveness of the tribe. Jiwār was a form or contractual agreement for tempo-

10. G.E. von Grunebaum, «The nature of Arab unity before Islam». *Arabica* 10 (1963), p. 12.

11. I. Lichtenstädter, «From particularism to unity: race nationality and minorities in the early Islamic empire», *Islamic Culture*, 23 (1949), p. 252.

12. W.R. Smith, op. cit., p. 25.

13. I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. I, trans. by G.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, ed. S.M. Stern, (London, 1963), p. 11.

14. B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, (London, 1970), p. 30.

15. B. Lewis, op. cit., p. 29.

16. W.M. Watt, op. cit., p. 173.

17. Ibid., p. 173.

rary protection for a neighbour (=jār).[18] It was a moral obligation of two individuals who made the contract which the community tacitly acknowledged. The observance of the relationship of protection was regarded as constituent of murūwwa (= the idea of manhood).[19] The institution of hilf was «the mutual alliance between groups or individuals by which they became confederates (hulafā') of one another».[20] It was a compact between separate tribes, very general in scope and conducive to the amalgamation of the tribes. The ḥilf was concluded ceremoniously with all formalities. Ḥilf and jiwār were used by Muhammad but hilf was later condemned: «la ḥilf fīl-islām=there is no hilf in Islam».[21] The term walā' designated both patronage and clientage among the Arabs. It always bound two individuals, both known as mawālī, but never groups. It remained even after Muhammad but later it came to mean any non-Arab client of an Arab tribe.[22]

So geographical, cultural, political and economic factors forced the tribes to come to terms among themselves and lead a joint life. In cities, such as Mecca and Medina, necessity forced the Arab tribes to create large associated units.

Now we understand Muhammad's patterns of action in the formation of ummah. Indeed Muhammad himself sought the cooperation of other tribesmen already in Mecca. The peculiar situation of Medina shows more developments. There Muhammad employed all the traditional means of alliance. Nonetheless the needs of his followers and the other tribes led to new elements of communal life. The traditional and new ways of communal life were coordinated in order to establish peace and security.[23] In fact the harmonization of the dynamics of the tribal Medinan society brought about a new concept of community, i.e. the Ummah.

The institution of brotherhood (mu'ākhāh)

A significant innovation in the process of the formation of the ummah was the institution of mu'ākhāh. Actually, it was an attempt to establish a modus vivendi for the Muslims in the new situation of Medina. At the time of Hijra (622 A.D.) Muhammad was faced with the challenge of how to incorporate his Meccan followers, the Muhājirūn, into the Medinan society. Where were they to live? How

18. Ibid., p. 172.
19. I. Goldziher, op. cit., p. 22, note 3.
20. W.M. Watt, op. cit., p. 172. Cf. E. Tyan. article «Hilf» in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, (Leiden: E.J. Brill & London: Luzac & Co., Ltd. 1960).
21. I. Goldziher, op. cit., p. 70.
22. P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, (Cambridge, 1980), p. 49.
23. C.A.D. van Nieuwenhuijze, «The Ummah-An analytic approach». *Studia Islamica*, 10 (1959), pp. 9 f.

were they to eat and clothe themselves? Because of the strong tribal connotations of traditional forms of alliance such as jiwār, ḥilf and walā', it was felt necessary to devise a system which allied the Muhājirūn to the Ansār (=helpers) on an individual basis. This system was the institution of mu'ākhāh. It functioned as a cohesive force within the ummah then and later. The Qur'ān says:

«remember the goodness of Allah to you
when ye were enemies; He knit you together
and by His goodness ye became brethren» (3: 98)[24]

The account of the brotherhood or fraternization (mu'ākhāh) between the emigrants and helpers, instituted by the Prophet, is to be found in Sīrah of Ibn Ishāq.[25] The practice of brothering does not seem to have been in existence for long before. However, we learn from the individual biographies in Ibn Sa'd that it had happened before the Hijra. Then it continued throughout the Medinan period as is to be inferred from cases involving different pairs of brothers.[26] The brothers took the solemn oath to help each other and for their relationship to have priority even over blood relationships. The Qur'ān supports this point:

«Those who have believed and emigrated
and striven with goods and person in the
cause of Allah, and those who have afforded
shelter and help are friends one to the other
but towards those who have believed and have
not emigrated ye have no duties of relationship
whatever, until they emigrate». (8: 37)

The institution of mu'ākhāh is an important step toward a new concept of community. It is no longer tribalism but not yet Ummah according to R. Simon.[27] At the moment when Muhammad left Mecca and decided not to organize the Muslims in tribes, he was not yet able to create a new form of community on the territorial principle. This could only be achieved in the various domains - economic, political, organizational and religious - as a result of a process. His attempts are demonstrated in the organizational domain by the creation of the religion of Abraham (millat Ibrahīm).[28] So a qualitatively new organization was

24. The translation of the Qur'ān employed in this paper is that of Richard Bell, *The Qur'ān: Translated, with a Critical Re-arrangement of the Surahs*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936, 1939). Flügel's verse numbering has been used in all references to quranic passages followed by R. Bell too. G. Flügel, *Corani Textus Arabicus*, Lipsiae, Caroli Tauchnitii, 1834.
25. F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishaq, bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hisham. Aus den Handschriften zu Berlin, Leipzig, Gotha und Leyden*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1858-60), vol. I, p. 344.
26. W.M. Watt, op. cit., p. 240.
27. R. Simon, «Sur l'institution de la mu'āḫāh, entre le tribalisme et l'umma». *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 27 (1973), pp. 333 ff.
28. Ibid., p. 339.

emerging through a process of experimentation. The institution of mu'ākhāh was part of this development.

However, we should not overlook the dynamic aspect of this institution. This aspect was in operation throughout the life of the Prophet. It functioned as a conciliatory and cohesive force. The Muslims became brothers through religion, «fī'ikhuanakum fīl-dīnin» (9: 11 and 33: 15). Elsewhere the Qur'ān says:

«the believers are brethren,
set things right therefore
between your two brethren,
and show piety towards Allah.» (49: 10)

These references stress furthermore the institution of mu'ākhāh as a principle of unification and solidarity of the growing social, political and religious unit which was to become the Islamic Ummah.

The Confederation of Medina

The formation of a confederation instituted by Muhammad himself in Medina is the most decisive step in the process of the unification of the Arab tribes. We have evidence of this fact in the so-called «Constitution of Medina». This is a collection of documents issued on various occasions during Muhammad's Medinan period. It is of great historical significance as a unique source of ideas underlying the Islamic community in its early formative period. It has been preserved by Ibn Ishāq in his Sīrah and it has been discussed by several scholars. It is an authentic text.[29] R. Serjeant has recently published the text, a translation and its analysis.[30] This work is used here as the basis of our inquiry.

The term ummah occurs twice in the documents of the Constitution. It is used for the intertribal association Muhammad established in Medina. It was indeed a theocratic confederation. Serjeant compares the concept of ummah to that of lummiyah which indicates a tribal confederation. Then he states: «I think that the ummah in the sense of a confederation round a religious nucleus was a pattern well-established long before Muhammad».[31]

The first usage of the term *ummah* is to be found in Document A which is concerned with its political structure. It says:

29. R. Serjeant says: «...it is unquestionably authentic» in «The 'Constitution of Medina' », *Islamic Quarterly*, 8 (1964), p. 3. Cf. W.M. Watt, op. cit., p. 225.

30. R.B. Serjeant, «The Sunnah Jāmi'ah, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the Tahrīm of Yathrib : Analysis and Translation of the Documents comprised in the so-called 'Constitution of Medina' », *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 41 (1978), pp. 1-42.

31. R.B. Serjeant, «Haram and Hawtah, The sacred enclave in Arabia», *Mélanges Taha Husain*, ed. Abdurrahman Badawi, (Cairo: Dar al-Maaref, 1962), p. 49.

«1. This is a writing from Muhammad the Prophet,
Allah bless and honour him, between the
Mu'minūn and Muslimūn of Quraysh and Yathrib
and those who follow them and join with them
and strive along with them.
2a. They are a single confederation (ummah wāhidah)
set apart from the people».[32]

The second clause is the most important statement on the early formation of Islam. The other passage employing the term ummah reads like that:

«2a. The Jews of Banū 'Awf are a confederation (ummah)
with the Mu'minūn, the Jews having their religion/law (dīn)
and the Muslimūn/Mu'minūn having their religion/law (dīn)
their clients (mawālī) and their persons, excepting
anyone who acts wrongfully (zalama) and commits
crime/acts treacherously/breaks an agreement,
for he but slays himself and the people of his house».[33]

The phrase «wa'inna yahūda banī 'awf 'ummatun ma'a 'l-mu'minīn» could mean either that the Jews constituted an ummah parallel to that of the Mu'minūn or that they were included in the ummah. The opinions of scholars vary on this point.[34] However, it seems that the Jews were included in the ummah in a general sense.[35] Thus Ummah is to be understood as a political confederation, possibly in the form of Hilf al-fudūl[36] and not in the sense of a religious community. It was a collective body (jamā'ah) excluding all those who did not belong to it. It was a new federation on the pattern of old ones. According to Serjeant «the confederation established by Muhammad at Yathrib had a special feature that the dīn, i.e. religion/law of the tribes, from whom it was formed, differed from that of their Jewish client tribes».[37]

This ummah was a collection of groups, not of individuals, who were in vari-

32. R.B. Serjeant, «The Sunnah Jāmi'ah...», p. 16, 18.

33. Ibid., p. 26, 27.

34. Ibid., pp. 2-4. Cf. J. Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 12. I. Lichtenstädter, op. cit., p. 260. F.M. Denny, «Ummah in the 'Constitution of Medina' ». *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 36 (1977), p. 44.

35. Manzooruddin Ahmed, «Umma: the idea of a Universal Community», *Islamic Studies*, 14 (1975), p. 34. See also W.M. Watt, op. cit., p. 241. R.B. Serjeant in «The sunnah Jāmi'ah..», p. 4, writes: «The Jews, when Muhammad made the confederation pacts after his arrival in Yathrib, were included in the ummah; 'through the peace (sulh) which took place between them and the Mu'minūn 'Believers' they became like a collective body (jamā'ah) of them, with a single word and hand' ». He quotes Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāyah fī gharīb ai-hadīth wa-'l-athar, Cairo, 1311/1893-4, I. 43.

36. Ch. Pellat, «Hilf al-fudūl» in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, (Leiden: E.J. Brill & London: Luzac & Co., Ltd. 1960-).

37. R.B. Serjeant, «The Sunnah Jāmi'ah...», p. 4.

ous forms of alliance or confederacy with Muhammad.[38] They were the Quraysh Muhājirūn (=emigrants), the Ansār (=helpers) of the Aws and Khazraj and the Jews.

The Ummah located in Yathrib was declared ḥaram (=inviolable) in 6/7 A.H. (628-629 A.D.) according to document F.[39] Thus it had a territorial basis. Muhammad had already built a mosque and houses for his followers, as soon as he arrived in Medina.[40] Kister's researches show the innovation of a new market too.[41] This Medinan confederation (ummah) aimed to prevent internal fighting and to unite its constituent allied groups for defense against the external foes. Muhammad functioned as an arbiter and judge (=hakam) and gradually increased his prophetic office.[42] This is clearly reflected in the Qur'ān.

The Ummah as a confederation was in the process of growth and consolidation. The evolving unity and coherence of the community is a process which went on throughout the life of the Prophet. The nature of ummah in the «Constitution of Medina» is a political one while its religious aspect is to be learned from the Qur'ān.[43]

Ummah in the Qur'ān

All we have said about ummah so far is not contradictory to what the Qur'ān says. The transition from a tribal system to brotherhood (mu'ākhāh) and the Medinan intertribal association (ummah - confederation) and then to ummah which came to be limited to a Muslim community involved a number of transformations, such as the growth of individualism, a new form of economy and finance, a new system of laws concerning all aspects of life as a whole, and a new religion. The Qur'ān bears witness to all these developments along with the growth of the community.[44] We shall not discuss these aspects since they fall outside the scope of this study.

38. W.M. Watt, op. cit., p. 247.

39. R.B. Serjeant, «The Sunnah Jāmi'ah...», pp. 34 f.

40. A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad. A translation of Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allah*, (London, 1955), p. 228.

41. M.J. Kister, «The Market of the Prophet», in *Studies in Jahiliyya and early Islam*. (Reprint of articles), JESHO, 8 (1965), pp. 272-276.

42. Serjeant demonstrated that Muhammad had possessed certain traditional qualifications besides his charismatic authority as Prophet to establish the Muslim Ummah. He was held in honour and protection (man'ah) by his people and town, i.e. Mecca, and he belonged to an honourable arms bearing group. In R.B. Serjeant, «Haram and Hawtah, The sacred enclave in Arabia», p. 48 f.

43. F.M. Denny, «Ummah in the 'Constitution of Medina' », *JNES*, 36 (1977), p. 47.

44. W.M. Watt, op. cit., pp. 250-302.

The quranic usage of the term ummah is general and frequently open to speculation. It occurs sixty-four times in the Qur'ān. The verses which use the term ummah cover both the Meccan and the Medinan period. Nöldeke places eleven instances in the second Meccan period, thirty-seven in the third Meccan period and sixteen in the Medinan period.[45] Richard Bell regards three instances as certainly Meccan (6:38, 10:47, and 13:30) although there are a number of others which he describes as «Meccan?» and «late Meccan or early Medinan». The majority of the verses are described as Medinan.[46] However, the chronological order of these verses is a great problem.

The term ummah follows a development reflected in the quranic data. It was a qualitatively neutral word and it came to be used in a technical sense for the Muslim community emerging in Medina. Sometimes it is used synonymously with other communal terms such as qawm, millah, dīn, tarīqa, jamā'ah and sha'b.[47] Elsewhere it is reminiscent of the confederation of Medina. All the same, the quranic term ummah except few instances (11:11, 12:45, 7:160, 164, 28:23) where it is used in a colourless way refers to «ethnical, linguistic or religious bodies of people who are objects of the divine plan of salvation».[48]

Although the quranic verses serve different purposes as is shown from the context, we can classify these verses into themes. Here I shall give a summary of conclusions after examining them.[49]

The first theme ummah wāhidah is the most general one. There are ten verses which could be grouped under this category.[50] Several verses employing the phrase ummah wāhidah may well allude to the confederation of Medina instituted by Muhammad. There ummah has both a sociological and a theological meaning. Mankind may be regarded as an ummah wāhidah in the mythical sense. So the ummah wāhidah is not so much an eschatological concept as a «protological» one. According to Wansbrough «the underlying motive (Geistesbeschäftigung) of Islamic salvation history or 'election' history, might be formulated not as 'eschatology' but as 'protology': a reaffirmation and restoration of original purity».[51] In-

45. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, second edition, ed. Fr. Schwally, 2 vols., (Leipzig, 1909-1919), vol. 1, pp. 66-234.

46. R. Bell, op. cit. Serjeant's discussion of the Documents of the «Constitution of Medina» favours Bell's dating in our case.

47. Manzrooruddin Ahmed, op. cit., p. 27.

48. Rudi Paret, «Ummah», in *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954).

49. A detailed discussion of each verse is to be found in our dissertation, Elias Giannakis, op. cit., pp. 30 ff. Cf. F.M. Denny, «The meaning of Ummah in the Qur'ān», *History of Religions*, 15 (1975), pp. 34-70.

50. These verses are: 16:94, 95, 42:6, 5:53, 11:120, 21:92, 23:54, 10:20, 43:32, 2:209.

51. J. Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu*, (London, 1978), pp. 147 f.

deed Muhammad wanted the restoration of the hanīfitic religion of Abraham.

The second theme of the historical Ummahs includes several aspects. That each ummah has a term «ajal»; ummahs that have passed away or perished ummahs; specific ummahs such as that of Noah, Abraham, Moses and those contemporary to Muhammad's time of «the people of the Book». All these communities had their own rites which had been designated by God. Nineteen verses can be grouped under this category.[52] There the ummah concept has a strong religio-communal sense. Such a community with its own rites (manāsik) was that of Muhammad. Among the communities of the past, the ummah of Abraham was the prototype of the Muslim community.[53] Again, a number of these verses reflect the Medinan situation.

The third theme of Ummah and God's agents is signified in those quranic verses - thirteen in number[54] - which connect the ummah with some form of agency sent or appointed by God, as rasūl (=apostle), shahīd (=witness), nadhīr (=warner), bashīr (=announcer) or nabī (=prophet).[55] God's personal activity towards the ummahs of the history of mankind is similar to that of Muhammad. Sometimes this points to the task of Muhammad to establish his authority particularly in Medina as judge (hakam) and guide. According to the Qur'ān God sends down his message through human personalities chosen from each ummah. All the messengers of God were «encountered with malicious resistance on the part of their ummah and only a minority let itself be guided to the right path».[56] Although the chronology of the verses is uncertain we may say that Muhammad already in Mecca saw his role defined in a similar way in regard to his people, Quraysh.[57] Later his people are the members of the historical association emerging in Mecca and defined in Medina. That ummah consisted of followers who had decided to live together. This ummah-confederation was defined through a historical process. It was destined to limit itself to those who followed Muhammad in his decisions and acts. This is clearly seen in the treaty under the tree in Hudaybiya (628 A.D.) where Muhammad, the mediator between his Ummah and Allah, concludes a covenant as the prophets. The Qur'ān says:

52. These verses are: 10:50, 7:32, 15:5, 23:45, 7:36, 41:24, 46:17, 27:85, 40:5, 11:50, 2:128, 135, 16:121, 7:159, 180, 5:70, 3:109, 22:35, 66.

53. Rudi Paret, *Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz*, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1972), p. 294.

54. These verses are: 6:42, 10:48, 6:108, 16:65, 23:46, 28:75, 16:86, 91, 4:45, 35:22, 40, 29:17, 16:38.

55. R. Bell - W.M. Watt, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 25-30.

56. G.H. Bousquet - J. Schacht (eds.), *Selected Works of C. Snouck Hurgronje*, (Leiden, 1957), p. 11.

57. See R. Bell, «Muhammad and Previous Messengers», *The Moslem World*, 24 (1934), pp. 330-340.

«Verily those who swear allegiance to thee,
swear allegiance really to Allah,
the hand of Allah is above their hands,
so whoever breaks faith, to his own hurt he breaks it,
and to those who fulfil what they have
pledged to Allah, He will one day give a mighty reward». (48:10)

The fourth theme Ummah muslimah indicates the latest step in the development of the community of Muhammad. In its narrow sense, it consisted of the convinced followers of Muhammad, those who swore allegiance to him under the tree of Hudaybiya in 628 A.D. This Ummah of Muhammad had its own Prophet, its own Book and its own rites. It was shaped and grown spiritually in admiration of the ummah of ahl al-kitāb. The following quranic verse points to that:

«there is a community of the people
of the Book which is steadfast
reciting the signs of Allah at the
drawing on of night, prostrating themselves,
believing in Allah and the last Day,
urging what is reputable and restraining
from what is disreputable and vying in
good deeds, these are the upright». (3:109-110)

The Muslim ummah is described in six passages.[58] It is defined as muslimah (=submissive) (2:122), as wasat (=in the middle) (2:138) and as khair (=the best) (3:106). These verses reflect the Medinan situation where the followers of Muhammad found themselves among pagans, Jews and Christians. The verse 3:106 :

«Ye have become the best community
ever produced for the people...»

enabled ummah in the later form to come to mean Islam almost exclusively.[59] This verse is also similar to that terminal phrase of the document A of the «Constitution of Medina» which says that the Mu'minūn follow the best guidance, «'alā ahsani hudan».[60] At any rate, the ummah came to include only Muslims after the withdrawal of Jews and Christians. Muhammad worked hard to discipline, guide and consolidate his followers. The Qur'ān itself reflects this struggle and process particularly in Medina.

58. These verses are: 13:29, 2:122, 138, 3:100, 106, 45:27.

59. F.M. Denny, «The meaning of Ummah in the Qur'ān», pp. 70 f.

60. R.B. Serjeant, «The Sunnah Jāmi'ah...», pp. 18 ff.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the term ummah underwent an evolution from a comparatively simple concept to an extremely complex one. In the end it came to be a central concept within a system of values. The Qur'ān reflects all the stages of such an evolution and structural transformation of the social order from tribe to community, from kinship to brotherhood in religion, from tribal strife to jihād in the way of God.

Indeed the term ummah primarily signifies a group of people who have something significant in common and who are related to each other in a special way. This group of people is parallel to a clan or tribe without being either of them in fact. As such the term ummah was not at all strange for the tribal audience of Muhammad. Most tribes bore the name of a past hero-leader. To call a family or a clan or even a tribe by the name of an important person was not an unusual phenomenon as shown by the clan of the Prophet himself, namely «the sons of Hāshim». So when Muhammad referred to the ummahs of the Prophets of the Past, this was very well understood by his audience. Thus Muhammad spoke of the communities of Moses and Noah as specific ummahs of a certain historical person who functioned as guide to that community. It is in this respect that Muhammad's followers constituted such an ummah distinct from any other, past or contemporary. Thus the word is a sociological term or else it came to be so.

It is in the Hijra (622 A.D.), from Mecca to Medina, from genealogy to spiritual brotherhood, that the semantic breakthrough comes about in the developing concept of ummah. The flexibility and the comprehensiveness of the term ummah opened new horizons for its interpretation in socio-politico-religious terms. This is clearly reflected in the process of the formation of the ummah of Muhammad in Medina as it appears in the «Constitution of Medina» and the quranic data. Those Meccans who of necessity dissociated themselves from their tribal brothers and followed Muhammad to Medina formed the nucleus of the emerging community. The Medinan conditions required an adequate response from Muhammad's followers if they wanted to survive. This response brought about the idea of brotherhood (mu'ākhāh) and the ummah-confederation. This society grew in the framework of the Medinan situation into the Muslim community. That ummah had a politico-religious structure. It was supposed to be an ummah muslimah and ummah wāhidah independently of family, clan or tribe. But the inner dynamics of Muhammad's association gave it an Arab colour. It was the developing tensions within the universal ummah of the «Constitution of Medina» that brought about the expulsion of those who endangered the cohesiveness and solidarity of the ummah-confederation, in its struggle against its opponents.

Finally the concept ummah conveys a weighty religious character apart from its socio-political one. Both the historical ummahs and the ummah of Muhammad are based on religion. In other words each ummah has its messenger, the one and same message of God, may be in the form of a book, and its rites appointed by God. All ummahs will be brought to judgement, even the Muslim one. The Qur'ān says:

«And one will see each community (ummah) kneeling,
each community called to its Book:
Today ye will be recompensed for
what ye have been doing». (45:27)

This eschatological aspect is linked up with the theological one. Thus Muhammad's community is indeed a religious ummah believing and acting in the way of God.

Elias Giannakis

AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE LIFE OF ST. THEODORE OF EDESSA (AR-RAHA) THE SABAITE

In 1978 Dr. Meimaris purchased a volume of Arabic paper Manuscripts from Mr. I. Nuseibeh, the owner of an antique shop called «The Little Museum» in Jerusalem. The dealer said that he brought it among other volumes from Turkey.

The above mentioned volume has come down to us in a fair state of preservation. Binded in a leather cover with a leaf-type cross in the middle of each side. Its pages are light yellow darkened sometimes at the foot from damp. Written by different hands and as expected with some faded letters. Handwriting is usually legible but occasionally it becomes very rapid and less easy to read. Written in fairly medium to large Nesche characters, and marginal corrections are usually in the same hand. There is no numbering of the pages and in order to make it easier for us and the future readers we numbered the copies.

The whole number of pages is 506 and the contents of the volume show much variety but as a whole they are of religious and historical character. Unfortunately, in the process of binding the volume, the right order of the MSS was not carefully observed, and as a result, some of the MSS were scattered in two or three places, and some others are incomplete. The volume contains the «Lives» of the following Saints: Theodore the Sabaite, Procopius, Mary the Egyptian, Marina and Kyra, Eudocia from the town of Sams (Baalbek), Thecla, the infant Kyrikos and his mother Julieta, Photini the Samaritan, George, Demetrios, Aelian the physician, Cosmas and Damianos the moneyless, Philip, the anchorite Cyriacus, and the Twelve Apostles, the Seven Youths of the cave of Ephesus. Besides, the volume contains the Epistles of St. Paul, Commentary of the Psalms, the 8th book of Deuteronomy, an account of the ascension to the throne of Constantius II, and another account of the ascension of Arcadius to the throne of the Empire.

The first sixty pages of this volume contain the Life of St. Theodore the Sabaite,[1] one of the most celebrated names of Eastern Medieval Christianity.

1. Theodore, a native of Edessa who became a monk in the Monastery of Saint Sabas and from there he was chosen to be the bishop of Edessa. Distinguished for his struggles against the heretics he ended his life in the Monastery of Saint Sabas. See *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. Editio altera (Brussels, 1909), p. 247. M. Th. Disolier, «Bulletin bibliographique d'hagiographie Byzantine et néo-grecque» (1918-1931), *Echos d'Orient*, XXXII (1933), 115. L. Bréhier, L'hagiographie byzantine des VIIIe et IXe

Famous for his ascetism in the monastery of St. Sabas Deir Mar Saba[2] in Palestine and later bishop of Edessa, ar-Raha,[3] in Mesopotamia, written by his pupil Basilios[4] bishop of Manbidj[5] (Hierapolis) in the ninth century.

The full size of each page is 29 X 20. 5 c., and the script is 22 X 12 c. In each page the number of lines is between 19-28, and the endings are sometimes uneven. There are no punctuation marks and as we observed there are a very large number of grammatical and spelling mistakes, of course, by modern criteria.

The Greek Life of St. Theodore has already been published in 1892 by the Russian philologist J. Pomyalovski.[6] His edition is based on two Greek parchment MSS in the Moscow Synodal Library, numbers XV and XVIII. The MS No XV originally was in the collection of the Iviron Monastery and the MS No XVIII originally was in the collection of the Laura of St. Athanasius on Mount Athos; both were acquired by Arsenius Suhanof[7] in 1654, together with other 496 MSS, and transferred to Russia. Also, several manuscripts of the Greek Life are in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai,[8] and in the Libraries of Paris,[9] Turin,[10] and Rome.[11]

siècles, in *Journal des Savants*, 1917, p. 16 ff. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Vita des Theodor*, Erzbischofs von Edessa, in *Byz. neugr. Jahrbücher*, 1921, pp. 285-290. J. Gouillard, *Supercheries et méprises littéraires*, L'œuvre de Saint Théodore d'Edesse, in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 5 (1947), pp. 137-157. A. Vasiliev, *The life of Saint Theodore of Edessa*, in *Byzantion*, 16 (1942), pp. 165-225.

2. A famous monastery in the Judaean Desert. See A. Ehrhard, «Das griechische Kloster Mar-Saba in Palestine», *Römische Quartalschrift*, VII (1893), 53-54. Ἰωάννου Φωκυλίδου, *Ἡ Ἱερὰ Λαύρα Σάβα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου*, ἤτοι Ἱστορία τῆς Λαύρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδρύσεως αὐτῆς μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων καὶ Ἱστορία πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ διαπρεψάντων πατέρων μετὰ ἀναγραφῆς τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1927.

3. Edessa, ancient city in N.W. Mesopotamia, in arabic Orfa or ar-Raha. Roman colony which accepted very early Christianity, conquered in 641 A.D. by the Arabs, a great center of heretic activities.

4. Basilios bishop of Manbidj (Hierapolis), IXth Century A.D.

5. Manbidj (Hierapolis), ancient town of N.E. Syria on the way from Antioch to Edessa, Capital of the Roman province of Euphrates since the 3rd Century A.D.

6. J.V. Pomyalovski, *Theodori Archiepisc. Edessae Vita* (Russ.). The life of our holy father Theodore, archbishop of Edessa, published according to two manuscripts of the Moscow Synodal Library (St. Petersburg, 1892) pp. XVIII + 147.

7. Arsenius Suhanof, a Russian Theologian 1607-1668 who was sent by the Tsar Alexios and the patriarch of Moscow Nikon to Mount Athos and Jerusalem in order to reform the Russian liturgical books. He is better known for the great number of manuscripts he brought from mount Athos. See M. Lascaris, Arsene Suchanov et les manuscrits de l'Athos, *Byzantion*, 28 (1958), 1959 σ. 543-545.

8. V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford, 1886), p. 132: Codex number 544 (saec. XIV, folios 59-206v).

9. H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du Supplément Grec de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883) p. 50.

10. J. Pasinus, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, I (Turin, 1749), 238 (Cod. CXLVII) saec. XVI.

11. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, (Münich, 1897) p. 152 (Ehrhard). P. Franchi de' Cavalierie-G. Muccio, «Index codicum graecorum bibliothecae Angelicae», *Studi italiani di*

In 1942 A. Vasiliev[12] referred to an Arabic version of Theodore's Life that he saw in the National Library of Paris (Catalogue No 147),[13] and wrote that it would be very desirable to have the Arabic version of the Life printed. We are in a position to say that up to our present day it seems that this Arabic version did not excite the curiosity of scholars in the East or in the West. But as a second existing version of this Life came to light we decided to do the job.

In our opinion this Arabic version of the Life is of considerable interest as it may enrich our knowledge of several aspects respecting the history of Oriental Churches under Islamic domination. Historically, as it takes us into the heart of the Christian communities living as subjects of the Islamic Empire. Dogmatically, due to the fact that Theodore was a master theologian and a polyglot speaking Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Persian, so, he was capable of facing the dogmatic challenges of his time, especially if know that Edessa was for a long time one of the most active heretic centres. And finally, as it is written in the official state language, it may have a special philological value.

For the time being we cannot make any attempt to determine the period at which this Arabic version was made but we hope that the contents of the manuscript will help us for dating. We shall have a few remarks to make upon the manner in which we are working.

At present, we are comparing our Arabic manuscript with the Greek text of Pomyalovski, and we have already ordered microfilms of the Arabic version of Paris National Library and of the Greek text of St. Catherine's Monastery of Mount Sinai, in order to study the interrelation between the two Arabic versions and the two Greek texts.

We have already started to divide our version into chapters following the Greek text of Pomyalovski's publication, to facilitate the work. We are only in the beginning, and our brief survey of the contents of the manuscript does not exhibit startling variants from the standard type of information we have already from the Greek text. Initially, we do agree with Vasiliev in the assumption that the Greek text was the original one and the Arabic version is an adaptation of the Greek text.

We have some examples of the prototypes used by the writer such as the story of St. Michael the Sabaite and the Persian Queen that reminds us of the story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar.[14] Also, the Life says «at the age of eighteen, Theodore lost his father, the next year his mother, he divided his property be-

filologia classica, 4 (1896), 132, no. 86 (B. 1. 8), fol. 219-265; also «Addenda et corrigenda», *ib.*, 184.

12. A. Vasiliev, The life of St. Theodore of Edessa, in *Byzantion, International Journal of Byzantine Studies* (American Series II) vol. XVI, fascicle 1, 1942-1943, Boston Massachusetts 1944, σελ. 165-225.

13. M. Le Baron de Slane. *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883-1895), MS. 147, p. 33 (Catalogue de Zotenberg).

14. *Genesis* 39, 7 ff.

tween his sister and the poor, and went to Jerusalem». One cannot fail to note the great resemblance between this account and that given by St. Athanasius of Alexandria in the Life of St. Antony.[15]

This Life is severely criticized mainly because of its fantasy and anachronism. The Life of St. Michael[16] the Sabaite is inserted into the Life of St. Theodore. The first Life is of the 7th or 8th century and the latter of the 9th century. But the writer in doing that was keeping with the tradition of the Monastery of St. Sabas.

A Russian pilgrim of the 12th c. called Daniel,[17] on a visit to that Monastery, saw there the relics of many saints and among them the relics of St. Theodore and St. Michael. In an icon from St. Sabas monastery of the early 19th century, we can see depicted the relics of both saints with their names beside one another.[18] But, we have not to expect perfect historical accuracy of the writers of such a type of hagiography. In fact, religious enthusiasm was behind the numerous miracles and the several supernatural incidents, performed at the hands of their saints. It seems that this special type of writings was urgently needed in those days when the efforts of the heretics were intensified and the Islamic religion as the State religion was spreading and winning day after day new converts.

We observed in the Arabic version the continuous omission of the name of the prophet Mohamed, and that is easily understood because such an Arabic text can be read by anyone and it can be a source of trouble. We think that it is the place to mention that the invectives the writer put in the mouth of St. Theodore and St. Michael against the prophet Mohamed and the new religion are as biased as anything could be. As a matter of fact, signs of favorable tolerance on the part of the Arab rulers towards Orthodox Christians can be easily detected. Proofs are

15. St. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita S. Antonii PG.* XXVI, Col. 841-844:

Μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον τῶν γονέων, αὐτὸς μόνος κατελείφθη μετὰ μιᾶς βραχυτάτης ἀδελφῆς· καὶ ἦν ἐτῶν ἐγγὺς δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ, ἢ καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονώς, αὐτός τε τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐφρόντιζεν... Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν αὐτοῖς κινητὰ πάντα πωλήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀργύριον ἱκανόν, δέδωκε τοῖς πτωχοῖς, τηρήσας ὀλίγα διὰ τὴν ἀδελφήν.

16. N. Marr, «Hagiographic materials according to the Georgian manuscripts of the Iviron», *Accounts (Zapiski) of the Oriental Section of the Russian Archaeological Society*, XIII (1901), 63, n° XXXVII; «March 20 the martyrdom of Saint Michael, who was in the Great Laura of Our Holy father Sabas», Georgian title.

17. A Russian pilgrim who visited the Holy Places between 1113-1115 A.D. and left a very important itinerary, see «Chozdenie Daniila» (The Pilgrimage of Daniel), ed. by Venevitinov, Palestinski Sbornik, I, part 3 (St. Petersburg 1884), 55. *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trad. par Mme de Khitrovo, I (Geneva, 1889), 34; ch. XXXVIII, a German translation of 1884 by Leskien published in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, vol. 17, and a Greek translation by Κλεόπας Μ. Κοικυλίδης καὶ Ἰωάννης Φωκυλίδης, *Ἀρχαῖα Λατινικά, Ἑλληνικά, Ρωσσικὰ καὶ Γαλλικά τινα ὁδοιπορικὰ ἢ προσκυνητάρια τῆς Ἁγίας Γῆς*, Ἱερουσαλὴμ 1912, σελ. 283-350.

18. Ἰωάννου Φωκυλίδου, *Ἡ Ἱερὰ Λαύρα Σάβα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου*, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

not lacking to show, in the case of Caliph Abdul-Malek Ibn Marawen[19] in the Life of St. Michael, and in the case of Caliph Al-Mamun[20] in the Life of St. Theodore that Orthodox Christians are permitted to rebuild their churches, and that religious debates among Christians, Jews, and Moslems are often staged in the presence of Moslem rulers. Evidently, when St. Theodore decided to journey to Bagdad he was the outspoken champion of the oppressed Orthodox Christians of Edessa (ar-Raha) before the heighest authorities in the Islamic Empire.

Yiannis Meimaris Adel Selim

19. ʿAbd al-Malik B. Marwān (A.H. 65-86 / 685-705 A.D.). He was born in 26/646-7 and was proclaimed Caliph in 65/685 as the fifth Caliph of the Umayaddes dynasty. In 69/689 he concluded a treaty with the Byzantine Emperor of ten years but war broke again. He died in 86/705 and was succeeded by his son al-Walid.

20. Al-Ma'mūn (A.H 198-218 / 813-33 A.D.). He is Abu ʿEl-ʿAbbas ʿAbd Allah, called al-Ma'mūn, son of Hārūn al-Rashid of a Persian mother. After the sudden death of his father in 193/809 his half brother al-Amin was proclaimed Caliph in Baghdad and al-Ma'mūn took over the government of Khurāsān. A disagreement arose between the two brothers increased in the course of time and civil war broke between them. In 198/813 after a siege of Baghdad al-Amin was captured and put to death and al-Ma'mūn acceded to the throne. He had a strong personality and was of wide intellectual interests. Towards the end of his reign he had to face numerous problems in order to preserve the unity of his Empire. He died at Tarsus in A.H. 218/833 A.D.

WHO BUILT THE DOME OF THE ROCK?

Jerusalem has not been kind to archeologists. For three decades perhaps in the nineteenth century, from the arrival of the first authentic excavator, the American Edward Robinson, in 1834 to the death-defying burrowing and crawling beneath and around the city by the two British engineers Warren and Wilson in the sixties of that century, the Jerusalem authorities stood back with a kind of bemused curiosity, but thereafter curiosity yielded to more deeply felt convictions that this digging was at best a usurpation and at worst a desecration of holy places. In a city filled with the holiest of holy places of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the charge was not a light one. It had been made before – by the Franciscans, for example, against the Greek architect charged with restoring the Holy Sepulcher after the devastating fire of 1808 – and has been made many times since, most recently by the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs against its own Department of Antiquities, and as a result of the controversy digging has all but stopped within the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem.[1]

The inhibition, religious or political, against archeological exploration has generally forced the historian of Jerusalem to seek for literary solutions for problems that might easily yield to the evidence of the spade. There is no lack of literary evidence, of course: Jerusalem has been for almost all of its history a much visited and much reported upon city. But for all the richness of the evidence supplied by pilgrims, travelers, consuls and conquerors, the dossier is by no means complete, and it is very often the very detail of what we do know that raises the gravest of problems about what we do not. Herod's Temple, for example, must surely lie in bits and pieces beneath the Muslim Haram al-Sharif, and equally surely traces of Solomon's beneath those of Herod's. But these are interdicted places, and so on the subject of the Jewish Temple we must rest content with puzzling out the almost embarrassingly detailed literary clues left behind by Josephus and the anonymous authorities of the Mishna.

This is not to suggest that there is no archeological evidence on this matter of

1. The earlier stages of the dispute are described in Benvenisti 1976: 314-320 and its ongoing sequel in the daily presss of Israel.

the Temple and its annexes. Areas on the northern side of the Haram have been carefully studied by the Franciscans[2] and the Sisters of Sion[3] who have had the good Jerusalem fortune to own the property there and so the capacity to excavate it at will, while Benjamin Mazar and Meir Ben-Dov have done extensive work along the southern side of that same enclosure.[4] Thanks to both groups we know considerably more about the Herodian structures on and around the Temple mount than we once did, an enlightenment that has brought new and indeed more fundamental questions in its train. We can now be assured, for example, that Herod's fortress called Antonia did not extend across the present Bab Sitti Maryam street running parallel to the northern edge of the Haram, or to put it another way, that that same street marked the northern limit of what Josephus described as a rather large building.[5] If we wish to keep the Antonia where it always has been on most plans and models of Jerusalem, atop the stone escarpment in the northwest corner of the Haram, we are constrained to write off Josephus' dimensions for the Antonia as exaggerations; or we can keep them and extend the fortress southward, well onto the platform that the Muslims have always called «The Noble Sanctuary», the *Haram al-Sharif*, and in the midst of which sits one of the glories of Islamic architecture, the Dome of the Rock.

By the time the Dome of the Rock was built the Antonia had long since disappeared, torn down in the dark days of 70 A.D. when Titus took the city and destroyed not only the Antonia but most of the Herodian fortifications and the Temple itself. But Josephus saw the Antonia before it was destroyed, as well as the Temple and its platform. Of this latter he says that Herod enlarged Solomon's platform to twice its size (*BJ* I, 21, 1) and the Herodian one was a square of a stade, or approximately 600 feet, on each side (*Ant.* XV, 11, 3). Even if we allow for some inaccuracy in our calculation of the ancient stade and cubit, there is little likelihood of anyone's standing atop the Mount of Olives, looking down upon the present Haram enclosure and calculating that it was 600 feet on each side, or indeed that it was anything remotely resembling a square. The immense irregular rectangle of the present Haram, whose dimensions have not changed since the seventh century, measures 926 feet on its southern and 1041 feet on its northern side; 1556 on its eastern and 1596 on its western side, remarkably larger than anything else that Herod built and substantially larger than comparable temple esplanades, that of Artemis at Gerasa, for example, or of Baal at Palmyra.[6]

Again, we can throw out Josephus' figures, and the parallel ones in the Mishnaic treatise *Middoth* (2:1) where the platform is also described as a square of 750 feet on each side or we can entertain another possibility.[7] We have two certain Herodian corners to this platform, those on the southwest and the southeast. We also know that the western and eastern walls are Herodian for a certain distance northward from those two corners, though how far one cannot say. Nor can one say anything for certain about either of the northern corners of the esplanade or the east-west wall between them.[8] It is suspected they are Herodian; it is assumed they are Herodian. The entire present Haram, the generally accepted hypothesis runs, represents the Herodian *temenos*.

2. Bagatti 1957-1958.
3. Marie-Aline De Sion 1956.
4. Mazar, 1969, 1971 and in résumé in 1975; cf. Ben-Dov 1982.
5. Benoit 1952, 1971.
6. See Bagatti 1979: 13.

But if we proceed from the incontrovertibly true and take Josephus and the Mishna at their word, we can construct our own hypothetical square using the undoubtedly Herodian southern side of 926 feet as a base. The result would give us a Herodian platform covering somewhat more than the southern one-third of the Haram. A Temple on an east-west axis in the center of this space would, of course, move it considerably to the south of the Rock presently enshrined on the Haram; indeed, the Dome of the Rock would stand just within the northern wall of a square enclosure of the type Josephus described, and the Golden Gate would be well northward, outside the Herodian Temple precinct proper. And if we proceed a step further and restore the Antonia to its Josephan scale, the gate, if there was one there in Herodian times, would have led not into a Temple court but into the courtyard of the Antonia.[9] The fact is, we have no idea where either the Herodian or Solomonian Temple was located atop Mt. Moriah and the only «evidence» for placing it at the site of the Dome of the Rock is the assumption, in despite of Josephus' direct testimony, that the present Haram is the Herodian esplanade and the often unconscious acceptance of the legendary connection between the rock beneath the Muslim Dome and either the Holy or Holies or the High Altar of the Jewish Temple.

How could such an enormous and magnificent building have so completely disappeared that even its site was forgotten? The Temple area and its buildings changed considerably between the time of Herod and the Muslim conquest of the city. On this the literary sources leave no doubt, though after Josephus' graphic description of the destruction of the city and the Temple, the remaining clues become tantalizingly brief. But let us briefly skip forward in the sequence of events, to what the Muslims found in Jerusalem and what they put up there. In 638 A.D., amidst the general collapse of the Byzantines' hold upon Egypt and Greater Syria, the Muslims took the city of Jerusalem. Its surrender was negotiated, not forced,

7. The chief and perhaps the only recent advocate of this possibility was Bagatti 1979, a resume of his earlier work, and following him, Vogt: 1974.
8. See most recently Jacobson 1980: 33.
9. See Bagatti 1979: Plate XIII for a sketch plan of this arrangement.

and its new Arab masters entered the holy city without bloodshed. The city was holy, as it turned out, as much to the Muslim conquerers as it was to the Christians who surrendered it.

That fact must have become apparent to the Christians at once, since one of the first Muslim acts of sovereignty was to proceed directly to the Temple mount and build a mosque there. To our eyes there is something strange in it, not the construction of a mosque, certainly, which is precisely what was done in other places, but the choice of location. On the model of Fustat in Egypt or Damascus in Syria, those other new possessions of Islam, we should expect the assembly mosque of Jerusalem to have been put up near the Citadel of the city or else near, or possibly, as was done in Damascus, within the primary Christian shrine of the Church of the Anastasis. Instead, it was built on the deserted Temple mount. Something even more odd occurred in the next decades: the Muslims built a sumptuous domed shrine over a large rock on that same hill.

The problem of the «rock» seems almost impossible to solve at this remove, as is the more general question of what was occurring on that hill between Titus' destruction of the Temple and the Muslims' decision to build their remarkable shrine there. All that is certain is that the rock now attested to atop the Temple mount apparently meant nothing at all to the contemporary Christians, if they were even aware of it, and that the mount itself was at most a place of some curious, though minor sites for the Christian tourist. The unnamed Christian pilgrim from Bordeaux, who was in Jerusalem shortly after Constantine began his building projects there; Cyril, the bishop who gave a round of catechetical lectures in the city in 348; Egeria, on pilgrimage in 381; and finally Jerome, who lived in Palestine from 385 to his death in 420, all are witnesses to the Christian disinterest in the hilltop site of what once had been the Jewish Temple, where «not one stone stood upon another», except perhaps as a stunningly literal fulfillment of that prophecy of Jesus regarding it. There were some secondary Christian shrines there, or better, some interesting sites shown to the Bordeaux pilgrim: the «stone rejected by the builders» referred to by Jesus (Mt. 21:42); the «pinnacle of the Temple» where Jesus was tempted (Mk. 4:4) and from which his brother James was later thrown to his death; and below it, what later came to be known as «Solomon's stables» and what the fourth century Christian was already told had been Solomon's palace. And on the Temple mount itself, though the exact sites are not specified, an altar that still had upon it the blood of Zacharias «murdered between the sanctuary and the altar» (Mt. 23:25); and finally, and most interesting of all, «a pierced stone where the Jews came and which they anoint each year», as the Bordeaux pilgrim explained to his readers. «They groan and rend their garments and

then depart». The day was the Ninth of Ab, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple.[10]

With the Bordeaux pilgrim we are suddenly and unexpectedly in the presence of a ritual stone, unexpectedly because Josephus, for all his detail on the Temple, makes no mention of it, and the size and shape of the Herodian platform make it unlikely, as we have seen, that the Temple stood on or near the rock – for it is part of the bedrock and not a detached stone – that now rests enshrined beneath the center of the chief Muslim monument on the mount, the *Qubbat al-Sakhra* or «Dome of the Rock». It is difficult not to think they are the same, the fourth century Christian pilgrim's «pierced rock» and the likewise pierced *sakhra* under the Muslim dome.[11] It sounds from the Bordeaux pilgrim's text and parallel remarks in Jerome (*In Soph.* I, 15-16) as if some sort of identification had been made, likely by the Jews themselves, of the place where the high altar of the sanctuary had been, and that it was connected with a visible rock. Just when this took place is hard to guess, after Josephus certainly, possibly when Bar Kohkba moved away some of the debris of 70 A.D. to rebuild, if he did, his own sanctuary in 132-135,[12] or even in the aftermath of that insurrection when Hadrian was rebuilding the city as Aelia Capitolina. And if we can trust the Bordeaux pilgrim's account, the «discovery» of this rock took place before 362 A.D., when there was another attempt at rebuilding the Temple, though on this occasion with the encouragement of the anti-Christian Emperor Julian, a task that involved clearing away the old foundations.[13]

There is, to be sure, a rock connected with the Temple that shows up in the Jewish rabbinic tradition. It makes its first appearance in the third century Mishna treatise *Yoma* (5:2) in connection with the ritual celebrated on the Day of Atonement. «After the Ark was taken away a stone remained there from the time of the early prophets, and it was called 'foundation'. It was higher than the ground by three fingerbreadths». The plain sense of this somewhat abrupt text at least suggests that the Ark of the Covenant had been placed atop this stone, which, in the days of the «early prophets», that is, David and Solomon, was already on the site. The «site», as we know from Kings and Chronicles, was the «threshing floor of Arauna the Jebusite», a place that in the biblical accounts had nothing sacred about it until David saw there the avenging angel of the Lord. The present irregular rock under the Dome seems exceedingly ill-suited for a threshing floor and it appears equally implausible to put the stone either in the Holy of Holies of the

10. Wilkinson 1981: 156-157. On the Ninth of Ab: mTaanith 4:6.

11. Not everyone is convinced, however: cf. Avi-Yonah 1954: 59 and, with a somewhat fantastic alternative explanation, Cohn 1982.

12. On the very circumstantial evidence for this: Schürer 1973: 535-536.

13. Sozomen *HE* V, 22; Theodoret *HR* III, 20; cf. Avi-Yonah 1976: 200.

Temple or indeed under the massive altar of sacrifice.

The later Jewish literature of piety and mysticism made a great deal of this stone and its cosmological associations: the «stone of foundation» was in fact the foundation not merely of the Temple but of the very world.[14] But even then no connection was made between this or any other stone and the annual recollection of the events of the Ninth of Ab and so no assurance for us that the «pierced rock» of the Bordeaux pilgrim or the sad rites described by Jerome had anything to do with the Mishna's «stone of foundation». One must in fact advance as late as the *Pesiqta Rabbati*,[15] a tract written in 845 A.D., for the first suggestion that the «foundation stone» was a surviving remnant of the Jewish Temple, an identification that may already have been influenced by Muslim traditions about the *sakhra* under the ornate dome that by then stood on the Temple mount.

A pilgrim from Piacenza who was in Jerusalem in 570 A.D., only seventy years before the Muslim take-over, did not even visit the Temple mount. He was shown the altar upon which Abraham intended to sacrifice Isaac but it was far away across the city, at the place of Jesus' crucifixion on Golgotha. The pilgrim from Piacenza knew where the Temple had been, of course, and noted it briefly in passing. «We climbed by many steps up from Gethsemane to the [city] gate of Jerusalem. The gate of the city is next to (or possibly «joined to») the Gate Beautiful, which was part of the Temple, and its threshold and entablature are still in position there».[16] This latter was the remains of one of Herod's gates surely,[17] a companion piece to the two Huldah Gates still visible on the south side of the Herodian platform, which lead up into the Temple enclosure from below through a kind of portico with steps, and it appears from the pilgrim's account that this eastern gate was mostly in ruins. Parts of Herod's construction are still in fact visible on the site, but the pilgrim apparently did not see what is there today, an elaborate, almost rococco structure which is called the «Golden Gate». It is certainly neither Herodian nor even Justinian's, since that latter imperial builder was already dead by 570.

Who then built the Golden Gate? There have been attempts at dating the structure and its decor on stylistic grounds,[18] but a rather common-sensical question presents itself in the midst of such discussions. If the Temple mount was nothing more than a field of ruins from 70 A.D. onwards, why should anyone, Christian emperor or Jerusalem patriarch, build an obviously expensive and grandiose

14. They are collected in Vilnay 1973: 1-16 and in the following pages are seamlessly associated with the Muslim legends surrounding the Rock.

15. 47 = Braude 1968: 804.

16. Wilkinson 1977: 83.

17. Corbett 1952; Creswell 1969.

18. Creswell 1969: I/2, 465.

processional gate – and perhaps rebuild the two Huldah Gates as well – that leads from nowhere to nowhere? The Golden Gate as it now stands makes sense only if there was *something* on the Temple mount, something that required a monumental approach from the eastern or royal or Messianic side of the city.

One possibility which must be taken seriously if the Herodian platform was indeed smaller than the Muslim Haram, is that the Golden Gate was one of the gates of the city. On the hypothesis of the smaller Herodian square, the site of the Golden Gate would lie, as we have seen, *outside* Herod's *temenos* and have provided access not to the Temple area but to the courtyard of the Antonia. With the destruction of both, the Temple ruins would have been left untouched by Christian hands, as the sources indicate, but the area of the Antonia might well have been reintegrated into the city, with what was left of Herod's gate providing access to the city on its eastern side, until it was rebuilt in more splendid form as the Golden Gate.

There are two reasons to think this. One is the impression left by Christian pilgrims of the pre-Muslim era that there was actually only *one* gate on the eastern side of the city. After the Muslim conquest of the city a second gate does begin to appear in the sources,[19] but the sole mention of a second gate in the Byzantine period is that by the Piacenza pilgrim cited above and here too it is not certain whether we have to do with *another* gate, presumably the modern St. Stephen's Gate, or a second part of the same gate. We have no assurance when the prototype of St. Stephen' Gate was actually built, and once again it is the assumption that the Herodian Temple platform was the same size as the Muslim Haram that persuades us that there was a city gate *outside* and north of the Temple. There surely was, but on the hypothesis of a square Herodian platform, that could well have been the ancestor of the Golden Gate, which fell within the Haram only when that latter was extended.

Another consequential piece of evidence not merely on this question but on the entire topography of pre-Muslim Jerusalem is the famous mosaic map found on the floor of a church in the town of Madaba in the Transjordan. There is a brilliant cartouche of Jerusalem that forms part of it, an aerial view, in effect, of the city and its buildings as they existed at the end of the sixth century.[20] There is on it a street entering Jerusalem from the east, framed by a rather splendid gate. The street could of course be that of Bab Sitti Maryam and the gate the ancestor of the modern St. Stephen's. But the street seems to stand rather too far east of the large church of the Probatica, which is also on the map, and in addition there is no clear indication of a *second* gate, presumably the Golden Gate, to the south of it. There

19. First in Arculf ca. 680: Wilkinson 1977: 95.

20. Published by Avi-Yonah 1954.

is a small square directly to the south of it, however, a not unreasonable candidate for the *kodra* or *quadra* which is remarked by the *Paschal Chronicle* (I, 474) as one of the landmarks of Hadrianic Jerusalem and, one might remark, an equally plausible designation for a *square* Herodian Temple platform. In which case we would be looking eastward down a street leaving the city by the Golden Gate.[21]

Thus, the city itself might have stood behind the Golden Gate in the sixth and seventh centuries, in which case an elaborate portal would make sense if there were occasion to construct such. One such occasion presents itself immediately, the circumstances surrounding the Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614 A.D. and the Byzantine reconquest of the city not too many years later. That time was in fact a turbulent one for Jerusalem. The Holy Cross long venerated in Constantine's basilica at the site of the crucifixion and burial of Jesus had been carried off by the Persians to their distant capital, and the Jews, who were briefly given charge over the city after its fall to the Persians in 614, apparently received permission to rebuild their Temple on Mount Moriah.[22] The episode was short-lived – the Persians revoked their commission no later than 617 – and in the years that followed the Emperor Heraclius reassembled an army and struck back deep into the Persian Empire. He defeated the Shah and in 628 or 630 returned in triumph to Jerusalem with the remains of the Cross, which were restored to Golgotha.

> «But in the 17th year, however, after the capture of Jerusalem, in the third year of the murder of Khosraw, in the 21st year after the accession of Heraclius, the 3rd indiction, the Persian general Rasmi-Ozan slew the Persian king Ardashir, whom we mentioned above. He seized the kingdom, became the ally of the Greeks and bestowed on King Heraclius the life-giving tree, the Cross of Christ, as the treasure of the whole world and as the richest of gifts, and he gave it to him. But King Heraclius took it to Jerusalem on the occasion of his going there with Martina, who was the daughter of his father's brother; and he had married her against the law and therefore was very much afraid that the high priests would rebuke him on the score of that indecent action. And when he had entered Jerusalem on the 21st of the month of March he re-established in its own place the glorious and precious tree of the Cross, sealed as before in a chest, just as it had been carried away. And it was set up altogether unopened; for just as the Ark of the Covenant was left unopened among strangers, so was left the life-giving tree of the Cross, which had vanquished death and trampled on Hell».[23]

21. This is the opinion of Bagatti 1979: 16-17; contra: Avi-Yonah 1954: 154 and Milik 1961: 175. On the Madaba map the entire area around the former Temple complex in the southeastern quarter of the city seems remarkably unfamiliar and hence the interpretations of the buildings noted in that area have varied widely. But the longer one looks at the map, the stronger grows the conviction that the confusion is ours and not the artist's: he appears to have known what he was doing and to have worked out a complete and complex code of colors and model building types and that as yet we simply have not penetrated it.

22. For a summary of the evidence, Avi-Yonah 1976: 265-270.

The Golden Gate, it has been surmised,[24] was built on that occasion in connection with the emperor's triumphal return to Jerusalem with the relics of the Cross. Thus, the eastern gate, the one originally built by Herod as an entry to the Antonia courtyard but then in the seventh century a *city* gate, would have been rebuilt and called «The Golden».[25] But the more generally held opinion is that the Golden Gate was an entry into the former Temple precinct, as it is today into the Haram. If that is so, we are forced to ask why. Where was the emperor going on his triumphal progress? The building of the Golden Gate onto the Haram in 628 A.D. makes sense only if there was something other than debris that lay beyond it in that ruined space atop the Temple mount, something that would in the first instance cause Heraclius to enter the Haram area in procession and then drew the attention of the Muslims to the same place when they entered Jerusalem in turn no more than ten years after Heraclius.

What presents itself as an occasion and a motive was the Jewish resacralization of the area in 614. We assume that the area had been at least partially cleared and that the identification of Temple and Rock, however legendary, was already firmly in place. And that the Jews had chosen to rebuild their Temple there, even if *we* suspect that the actual site of the Temple lay forgotten further to the south. When, however, a similar act of religious defiance to Christianity had occurred on the part of the Samaritans in 484, the imperial reaction was swift and decisive. The Samaritans were driven off their holy place atop Mount Gerizim and Zeno had constructed there a new church of the Virgin,[26] a rather remarkable edifice built in the form of an octagon surrounded by an ambulatory and enshrining a relic of the rock of Golgotha, a building very similar in fact to the Dome of the Rock.[27]

The parallel suggests itself not on the architectural similarities alone but because the Dome of the Rock is so unusual a monument in the context of its place and time and builders, with no Muslim antecedents at all and very few exact Chris-

23. Antiochus Strategos, *On the Capture of Jerusalem* = Conybeare 1910: 516.

24. Creswell 1969: I/2, 465.

25. It has been suggested that what the earlier Christians called the «Gate Beautiful» became the «Gate Golden» through a confusion between the Greek *oraia* = *speciosa* and the Latin *aurea*, e.g. Wilkinson 1977: 160. There may have been no confusion at all. After Jerusalem Heraclius completed his triumph with a ceremonial entry into Constantinople, a ceremony that took its traditional point of departure at the capital's chief processional gate, also called the Golden Gate; Stratos 1968: 240-245, and on the Constantinopolitan Golden Gate, 398. Was not the Golden Gate in Jerusalem named after its prototype and analogue in Constantinople?

26. Procopius, *On Buildings* V, 7, 5-7.

27. On the church: Schneider 1949-1951; cf. Krautheimer 1965: 116.

tian ones in the near vicinity. It is possible that Heraclius intended to reclaim for Christianity the Temple mount that generations of Christians had ignored but whose status had been profoundly altered by a few brief years of Jewish liturgical occupation. And in the same fashion that Zeno had expropriated the revived Samaritan holy place atop Mount Gerizim, Heraclius had built the Golden Gate and had planned or even begun to construct a similar octagonal church-shrine – let us call it the Church of the Presentation – around the now consequential Rock atop Mount Moriah. The evidence is only circumstantial, the Jewish occupation of the site in 614, a similar building in parallel circumstances in Samaria and a satisfactory explanation of the apparent anomaly of the Golden Gate, but the hypothesis appears more plausible than to think, as we are now constrained to do, that the remote Muslim Arabs of Mecca rediscovered the significance of the place after a liturgical hiatus of half a millenium and then proceded to enshrine it with an absolutely unique building.

If we have managed to escape one odd conclusion, we have been thrust into another no less odd, that in 638 A.D., the Muslims took from the Christians what was intended as a «new» holy place, new to Christians at any rate, and restored it to another intent that stood far closer to a Jewish veneration of what was long ago, and only recently had been once again, a Jewish holy place. The notion is not an alien one to the Quran, however. The appreciation of Jerusalem in the original Muslim revelation was biblical and not Christian, and though the city is not mentioned by name there – nor is Mecca, for that matter – some at least of the references are unmistakable, in Surah 17:5, for example, which speaks of the double destruction of the Temple.

The word used for «Temple» in this latter verse is *masjid*, the same applied to the Ka'ba sanctuary at Mecca, and the two locutions appear together in the famous opening verse of that same Surah of the Quran, the crucial text for the subsequent Muslim appreciation of Jerusalem:

> «Praise be to Him who caused His servant to journey by night from the haram-shrine (*al-masjid al-haram*) to the distant shrine (*al-masjid al-aqsa*), whose environs we have blessed, to show him some of our [miraculous] signs».

The «haram-shrine» of this verse appears on the face of it to refer to the sanctuary at Mecca and was universally so understood by the Muslim tradition. What the tradition had less initial agreement on, however, was the location of the «distant shrine». One tendency was to link it with the suggestions of supernatural visions elsewhere in the Quran and so understand it as heaven, perhaps the farthest reaches of heaven. We cannot say how early that reading of the text was, but it does seem likely that the other interpretation, and the one that eventually prevailed, as we shall see, namely that the «distant shrine» was in Jerusalem, only became current toward the end of the seventh century, precisely when the Umayyads were enshrining the Jerusalem *haram*.[28] And what is most important to our purposes, the Caliph 'Umar did not seem to know of that identification when he stood uncertainly on the Temple mount as Jerusalem's conqueror in 638 A.D.

Both the Muslim and the Christian tradition portray 'Umar as uncertain about where to establish the cultus in Jerusalem. He is shown receiving and shrewdly turning aside advice on the holy places from both the Christian Patriarch Sophronius and «Rabbi Ka'b», the latter an early Jewish convert to Islam in whose mouth so many Jewish traditions were placed in those years.[29] These accounts are as openly tendentious as the alleged surrender terms of the city, and the Jewish recollection of those dramatic events of the seventh century is quite different. Some Jews quite close to the event saw the coming of Islam in almost Messianic terms:

> «And a king shall go forth from the land of Yoqtan
> And his armies will seize the land.
> . . . .
> Gog and Magog will incite one another
> And kindle fear in the heart of the Gentiles.
> And Israel will be freed of all their sins
> And will no more be kept from the house of prayer.
> Blessings and consolations will be showered on them,
> And they will be engraved in the Book of Life».[30]

Were the Jews actually restored to their «house of prayer» by the Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem? In the eleventh century, after four hundred years of Muslim sovereignty, the Jews of Jerusalem still thought they had been. In their tradition they had showed the first Muslims the actual site of the Temple and in return for that and other help, they were free to pray on the Temple site and even undertook to keep it clean. According to another Jewish account, the Arabs had handed over to them «the courtyards of the House of God where they prayed for a number of years».[31] The Jewish tradition, then, had no recollection of being banned from Jerusalem by the first generation of Muslims; on the contrary, the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem was remembered by them as an almost Zionist restoration, not merely to the city but to the Temple mount itself.

But the Muslims established themselves there as well, as we have it from a

28. The traditions on Muhammad's «Night Journey» are analyzed in Schrieke 1916: 13-15.
29. The various versions are reproduced in Le Strange 1890: 134-144.
30. Lewis 1974: 199.
31. Mann 1920-1922: 1, 44-47.

disinterested eye-witness to the site. The Western Christian Arculf, who visited the city in 670 or 680, remarks of the Temple mount that «the Saracens put up a rectangular house of prayer, crudely constructed ... on some remnants of ruins» and that it was large enough to accomodate 3000 people,[32] a reference not to the Dome of the Rock, which was a shrine and not a house of prayer, but rather to the earliest assembly-mosque in the city, the ancestor of what came to be known as «al-Aqsa», and built in the first instance out of the architectural debris of the Herodian Temple.

The traditional way of approaching the Haram al-Sharif, the «Noble Sanctuary» that the early Muslims laid out atop the Herodian platform on the Temple mount, is through an inspection of the two religious buildings that dominate the platform from at least the last decade of the seventh century, the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque. But if we turn elsewhere in that same landscape, we may have a somewhat clearer appreciation of the intentions of the early Muslim rulers of the holy city. In 1967 Benjamin Mazar began to unearth first a large building, and then an entire complex of buildings adjoining the southern side of the platform of the Haram.[33] The excavations continue, but what has so far come to light is a large Umayyad palace with direct access to the Haram at both ground and roof level, and west of it a series of other buildings that extended both westward along the city wall and northward along the «Wailing Wall» of the Haram and perhaps as far as «Wilson's Arch» under the Haram entry known as the Gate of the Chain.

This was a very large public works undertaking whose intent and function may not have been fulfilled before the Umayyad dynasty itself expired in 750 A.D. and the political fortunes of both city and empire were directed from Baghdad. What was the intent? We cannot be certain, but the complex was one of the largest, if not the largest Muslim building project undertaken in the first century of Islam. Elsewhere the Umayyads chiefly adapted and reused; here in Jerusalem they planned and built, a secular building purely and simply, administrative or residential perhaps, and in the very shadow of the Noble Sanctuary to whose own buildings the complex at its southern end was obviously related in design and concept.

But if we cannot as yet say precisely why, we can certainly speculate who was the mover of this vast secular initiative at the foot of the Temple mount. By the time that Arculf journeyed to Jerusalem in 670 or 680, the city had a new king, Mu'awiya ibn Sufyan, an early companion of the Prophet, long-time governor of Syria and, after 661, the Caliph of a badly divided Muslim community. This fifth

32. Wilkinson 1977: 95.

33. The earliest results are reported by Ben-Dov in Mazar 1969, 1971.

Caliph eventually chose to rule the community from Damascus rather than from Mecca or Medina, but that may not have been his original intent. The source is anonymous and Christian but it is doubtless early and it attests that Mu'awiya was crowned in Jerusalem.[34] It was the Umayyad scion Mu'awiya then, who had the emotional investment in Jerusalem and who offers himself as the most probable candidate for the ruler who initiated the grand design embodied not merely in the vast administrative and residential complex at the foot of the Haram but also in the two religious buildings intended to sacralize the space atop it. Mu'awiya, it appears, intended to rule the «Abode of Islam» from Jerusalem.

The Haram project, which, if we are correct about the square shape of the Herodian platform, may have included the immense labor of extending the Herodian platform far to the north since the Dome of the Rock sits symmetrically at the center of it, was not finished in Mu'awiya's lifetime.[35] The Dome of the Rock had obviously to wait upon the completion of the platform, the larger precinct of the Haram and the smaller platform upon which the Dome of the Rock itself sits, and the Dome building was signed and dated by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik in 692 A.D. and the Aqsa mosque attributed to the latter's son al-Walid.

There may be a confirmation of this in one of the Jewish apocalypses whose kernel goes back to the time of the conquest. Its version of early Islamic history is more than a little disordered, but in one of its versions it seems to allude directly to Mu'awiyah, a «lover of Israel» who «restores the breaches of the Temple», who «hews Mt. Moriah and makes it straight and builds a mosque there on the Stone of the Foundation», while in the same a couple of lines later the work of 'Abd al-Malik and his sons is reduced to «repairing the Temple».[36] Both these later Umayyad princes were prodigious builders throughout the East, on a scale comparable to Justinian, Hadrian and Herod, and though the Aqsa has been rebuilt so often that its original effect is considerably blurred, the Dome of the Rock is a marvelously sophisticated and elegant building set down confidently and harmoniously in the midst of the *Haram al-Sharif*, and it is not difficult to share Muqaddasi's obvious wonder when he described it in 985 A.D.:

> «At the dawn, when the light of the sun first strikes the Dome and the drum catches the rays, then is this edifice a marvellous sight to behold, and one such that in all of Islam I have not seen its equal; neither have I heard tell of aught built in pagan times that could rival in grace this Dome of the Rock».[37]

34. Guidi 1903-1907: 77.

35. Herod's own work on Mt. Moriah took eighty-two years to complete.

36. Lewis 1950: 324-325, and for the identification of the first reference with Mu'awiyah, *ibid.* 328. Lewis thinks the time alluded to was during Mu'awiyah's governship of Jerusalem, that is, before 661.

37. Le Strange 1890: 124.

The Aqsa is located at the southern end of the Haram, convenient to and connected with the Umayyad palace abutting it at the southern wall. The collocation of palace and congregational mosque was common in the earliest urban building projects undertaken by the Muslims, and in this case there may have been the additional inducement of re-usable building materials since the location was identical to the site of Herod's Royal Stoa, one of the more monumental buildings in that king's precinct and whose still visible remains were probably the «ruins» referred to by Arculf. The broad and lavishly columned basilical space enclosed within the Aqsa would have used them to advantage, as would the palace built amidst the debris down below. The Dome, on the other hand, rests upon its own platform in the middle of the Haram, directly atop a large exposed area of bedrock cropping which the building with its double octagon encloses and obviously enshrines.

The Aqsa, for all its numerous rebuildings, is an edifice whose function, if not always its form, is perfectly transparent: it was from the beginning and remains a mosque, a *masjid al-jama'-a* or assembly mosque from the size of it, intended to accomodate the entire population of early Muslim Jerusalem and identified, as its name reveals, with the «Distant Shrine» mentioned in the Quran. The Dome of the Rock is something quite different, however, at once more complex and baffling, a shrine. The intent and function of the Dome of the Rock has been widely debated. It was once generally agreed, on the basis of statements of authors like Ya'qubi, that Abd al-Malik intended to divert the obligatory Muslim pilgrimage or *hajj* from Mecca, where he was faced with a full-scale insurrection against his authority led by Ibn al-Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the Dome, a shrine with an inner ambulatory for the liturgical *tawaf* or «circling» of a sacred rock, was his impious substitute for the Ka'ba.[38]

Ya'qubi's explanation for the construction of the Dome of the Rock, which for a long time was accepted as canonical, now no longer seems so convincing, however, and the reasons for doubting if not outright rejecting that explanation as a piece of tendentious rhetoric are sound and persuasive.[39] But something *was* astir in Jerusalem in Umayyad times, and we can read its echoes, if not clearly its causes, in the debate being conducted under the cover of «traditions» later put in the mouth of the Prophet regarding the relative sanctity of Mecca and Medina and what was sometimes regarded as the upstart «third mosque» in Jerusalem.[40]

What was disturbing some Muslims may have been revealed in the excavations at the south end of the Haram platform. The size and elaborateness of the palace and its adjoining settlement suggests that someone, perhaps Mu'awiya himself, had *political* plans for Jerusalem. And if they were political, they had also to be religious at the point in Islamic history. If Mu'awiya intended changing the center of the *Dar al-Islam* from the Prophet's home in Medina, there would have to be an ideological as well as a practical basis for the move. And the ideological basis lay close at hand in the obvious, Quranically certified sanctity of Jerusalem. What was required was some symbolic yet public and visible expression of that sanctity *in an Islamic context*. And that expression was the Dome of the Rock, a building perhaps planned and it may be already begun by Heraclius as a reproach to newly-kindled Jewish claims on the Temple mount, taken in hand by Mu'awiya and then finally completed and signed by 'Abd al-Malik in 692 A.D.

One approach to the question of the Dome of the Rock has been to look at the catena of Quranic texts that its builders chose to display in mosaic around the interior.[41] Viewed from that perspective as well, the Dome is both a royal and a religious *prise de possession* of the holy city, a building whose imperial message and iconography echoes in intention the new Muslim palace to its south and whose religious message seems beamed to the Christian presence atop Golgotha across the Tyropean vallley: Islam is at hand; Christianity is transcended.[42] Some such message is in fact at least hinted at in the explanation Muqaddasi received from his uncle in Jerusalem:

> «Now one day I said, speaking to my father's brother, 'O my uncle, truly it was not well of the Caliph al-Walid to spend so much of the wealth of the Muslims on the mosque at Damascus. Had he expended the same on making roads or for caravanserais or in the restoration of fortresses, it would have been more fitting and more excellent of him'. But my uncle said to me in answer, 'O my little son, you have not understanding! Truly al-Walid was right and he was prompted to do a worthy work. For he beheld Syria to be a country that had long been occupied by the Christians, and he noted herein the beautiful churches still belonging to them, so enchantingly fair and so renowned for their splendor; even as are the Qumâma [The Holy

38. Text of Ya'qubi II, 311 in Le Strange 1890: 116, and its canonical reception in Western scholarship in Goldziher 1969-1971: 2, 44-45.

39. Goitein 1968: 135-138; Grabar 1973: 49-50.

40. The «third mosque» traditions are traced by Kister 1969.

41. For what follows, though not necessarily with the same conclusions or emphasis; Grabar 1973: 52-67.

42. Though the *message* of the Dome seems to be directed at the Anastasis, the Muslim building does not appear to be modelled on the Christian one. Constantine's rotunda over the sepulcher was clearly *oriented*, that is, the face of the building, which was embellished with a large columned porch (see Wilkinson 1978: fig. 133) gave entry to the front of the Tomb within. Further, the top of Anastasis dome was pierced by a prominent oculus opening to the sky. The Dome of the Rock, on the other hand, is a perfectly symmetrical, unoriented building with a closed dome, to say nothing of the obvious fact that it is not a mausoleum at all.

Sepulcher] and the churches of Lydda and Edessa. So he sought to build for the Muslims a mosque that should prevent their admiring these and should be unique and a wonder to the world. And in like manner, noting the greatness of the Dome of the Qumâma and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of Muslims and so erected, above the Rock, the Dome which is now seen there».[43]

If the Dome of the Rock is an at least implicit repudiation of the Anastasis' claim for a risen Christ, it is also an acceptance and affirmation of the biblical associations of the place of its own foundation. The Dome, it appears almost certain, was not originally built to commemorate a way-station on Muhammad's «Night Journey» mentioned in the Quran but to celebrate the biblical, Abrahamic and so *muslim* connections of that spot atop Moriah, connections suddenly and unexpectedly alive on the eve of Islam and to which the Muslims now laid claim. It was only with the community's growing confidence in its own independent religious identity, and perhaps for polemical reasons as well, that the Night Journey associations of the rock and its shrine began to gain ground and the opening verse of Sura 17 glossed accordingly. The identification was current when Ya'qubi was writing in 874 A.D. and it already appears standard a century earlier in the account of the Night Journey in the canonical biography of Muhammad, the *Life of the Apostle of God* assembled by Ibn Ishaq (d. 767).[44]

We can be almost certain that the earliest Muslim arrivals in Jerusalem were instructed on the sacred traditions of the Temple mount by the Jews who returned there with them. Those traditions had little to do with the Aqsa Mosque: the location of the Aqsa on a place with no particular religious associations suggests mere expedience: it was put up where there was plentiful building material and where there was easy access to the palace next to it. The Dome, on the other hand, was built *over a holy place* and the Haram was in turn planned around *it*. We have seen how that place suddenly became holy after centuries of Christian neglect and Jewish silence: the Jews intended to rebuild their Temple there in 614 A.D., twenty-four years before the Muslim conquest. And ten years before the conquest Heraclius planned to bring the Cross to that same place, down from Olivet, through the Messianically certified Golden Gate rebuilt for the occasion, and, it has been suggested, to a church which he had planned as a sign of defiance to Jewish pretensions to that place, as Zeno had earlier defied similar Samaritan pretensions on Mt. Gerizim.

Whether the Church of the Dome was actually built is difficult to say since there are no authentic witnesses to the history of the city between 628 and 638 and

43. Text in Le Strange 1890: 117-118.
44. Guillaume 1955: 181-182.

very few eyewitness accounts even after that date. We suppose not, at least not in its finished form, but how are we to distinguish on architectural grounds between a shrine built by Byzantine craftsmen for Muslims and a Byzantine shrine built by those same people? The Muslims put up the mosaics, it is certain, and the dedicatory inscriptions, but the building itself does not reveal its builder, save that the style and shape and mode is entirely Byzantine and the Rock at its center is just as unmistakably biblical.

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UN «ROMAN DE MAHOMET» GREC INÉDIT

Introduction

Le traité *Sur l'imposture de Mahomet* que nous publions est contenu dans le codex n° 110 du monastère athonite de St-Pantéléimon, f. 258r-275v.* Le manuscrit est constitué principalement (f. 5-250) d'une *Exégèse de l'Apocalypse par André de Césarée et par d'autres commentateurs*. Le copiste de ces deux textes majeurs est Jacques le pécheur, qui se fait connaître à la fin de notre traité; il a exécuté ce travail entre 1847 et 1848. En effet, au début de l'exégère nous lisons: Ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ ͵αωμζ′ (1847), alors qu'à la fin du traité figure la date ͵αωμη′ (1848). Sur les pages vierges du manuscrit, notamment au début et à la fin de l'exégèse, des mains diverses ont consigné ultérieurement quelques brèves notices historiques, un *Oracle découvert récemment*, des vers de Maxime Margounios et de Nicéphore Théotokis, etc. Une petite notice, à la première page, nous apprend que le codex avait appartenu au défunt prélat Pantéléimon.

Le fait qu'un commentaire de l'Apocalypse et un traité contre Mahomet et l'islam soient recopiés en 1847-1848 est fort significatif. En ces années-là les relations diplomatiques entre le jeune État grec et l'empire ottoman se trouvent particulièrement détériorées. D'autre part, les événements graves qui secouent l'Europe à cette même époque créent une atmosphère d'effervescence chez les Grecs et favorisent la renaissance de leurs espérances eschatologiques. Les visions de Sérifios, les prophéties de Marie Steffel, l'interprétation d'Agathanghelos par Flamiatos et nombre d'autres textes eschatologiques, dont certains sont anonymes, datent de cette époque et préludent au puissant courant eschatologique qui traversera la pensée grecque au cours de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle.

Dans un tel contexte idéologique, les deux notices que l'on lit à la fin du traité s'avèrent très révélatrices. Après avoir achevé son travail, Jacques le pécheur

* Nous nous excusons de ne pas accompagner de notes cette brève introduction. Le lecteur trouvera toutes les références bibliographiques dans notre commentaire du traité.

rédige la brève Ὑποσημείωσις selon laquelle les chapitres XIII et XIV d'Isaïe s'appliqueraient à l'Islam et à l'empire ottoman. Cette interprétation est certes connue depuis longtemps, mais la *Note*, placée à la fin du traité, a pour fonction d'en accentuer les propos relatifs au cheval verdâtre et à l'image de Mahomet-Antéchrist. La «soudaineté» avec laquelle le copiste pense «à toutes ces choses» montre qu'il vit dans un climat eschatologique. Il en est de même de ce lecteur anonyme qui, après avoir lu le manuscrit et en particulier la *Note*, s'empresse d'écrire le *Mot de la fin* pour mettre en garde les orthodoxes grecs qui cherchaient à donner une interprétation historique et nationaliste à l'eschatologie chrétienne et à préciser, au moyen de «calculs humains», la date de l'anéantissement de l'empire ottoman. On pourrait supposer que ce mot final est en rapport avec la guerre de Crimée (1853-1856) ou avec les mouvements insurrectionnels postérieurs. Quoi qu'il en soit, ces deux notices nous mettent, une fois de plus, en présence de deux courants eschatologiques, l'un historique et nationaliste, l'autre théologique et spirituel, qui s'opposent tout en se complétant.

Le traité *Sur l'imposture de Mahomet* ne donne aucune indication précise, ni sur la date et le lieu de sa rédaction ni sur son auteur. Ce dernier est à coup sûr un Grec orthodoxe qui connaît le latin et d'autres langues européennes, par exemple le français et l'italien. Il a dû séjourner en Occident où il a pu consulter les ouvrages imprimés, et peut-être aussi certains manuscrits, qui lui ont fourni les matériaux nécessaires à la composition de son traité, ouvrages qu'il était difficile de se procurer alors en terre grecque.

Mais l'auteur utilise également des sources grecques, notamment Anastasios Gordios et Nil le Myrovlyte. Le traité *Sur Mahomet et contre les Latins* avait été largement répandu après la mort (1729) de Gordios, même au-delà du monde orthodoxe grec. Par contre, le codex n° 11 du monastère athonite de Xénophon, constitué en 1815, ne semble pas avoir été reproduit et diffusé hors du Mont Athos. Aussi, à moins de supposer que des manuscrits plus anciens, contenant partiellement *Les enseignements moraux et spirituels de Nil le Myrovlyte*, connaissaient, eux, une large diffusion, force nous est d'admettre que le traité *Sur l'imposture de Mahomet* fut rédigé au Mont Athos après 1815, et plus probablement entre 1821-1827, pendant la guerre des Grecs pour leur indépendance. A notre avis, l'auteur du traité est un Grec lettré, prêtre ou religieux, qui s'était réfugié sur la Sainte-Montagne pendant les années de la guerre. Si nous pouvions découvrir l'existence de manuscrits de saint Nil antérieurs à 1815, la rédaction du traité se situerait dans les dernières décennies du XVIIIe siècle, probablement ailleurs que le Mont Athos.

Les autres références ne nous fournissent aucune indication sur le lieu et la date de rédaction du traité. Il est évident que l'auteur a utilisé directement la version originale, ou la traduction italienne exécutée en 1679, du *Viaggi* de Gabriel Brémond. Toutefois ses références aux autres auteurs arabes et occidentaux sont données de manière indirecte, elles sont tirées d'un ou de plusieurs ouvrages occidentaux que l'auteur ne cite pas.

Nous avons effectué une étude très poussée afin de déterminer avec précision quels furent ces ouvrages. Notre recherche n'a cependant pas donné les résultats escomptés. Toutefois quelques conclusions partielles s'imposent: notre auteur semble avoir lu les ouvrages de Prideaux (1698) et de Gagnier (1748) à qui il emprunte la plus grande partie de ses matériaux, notamment ses références à Pascual et à Guadagnoli ainsi qu'aux livres musulmans *Agar* et *Chants victorieux*; il se livre à un travail de sélection très soigné parmi les matériaux qui lui sont offerts; ses citations sont tantôt exactes et tantôt erronées, suivant l'utilité qu'elles peuvent avoir pour son argumentation; enfin, notre auteur suit la tradition musulmane avec beaucoup plus de fidélité que ne le laisse paraître la virulence de sa réfutation de Mahomet et de l'islam.

Le traité *Sur l'imposture de Mahomet* s'avère intéressant à plus d'un titre. Tout d'abord, il contient la vie de Mahomet la plus romancée de toute la littérature anti-islamique grecque, byzantine et post-byzantine. Cette dernière n'ignore certes pas quelques-uns des moments ou aspects de la vie du prophète de l'islam, et s'applique à relever ceux qui se prêtent le plus facilement à la critique et à la comparaison avec la vie des autres prophètes, notamment avec celle du Christ. Saint Jean Damascène, Barthélemy d'Édesse et les auteurs anonymes du Κατὰ Μωάμεθ et de la *Vita Muhammedis* constituent pour toute cette littérature la référence la plus sûre en la matière. Cependant, les polémistes grecs ne s'éloignent que très rarement des sources officielles de l'islam, le Coran et la Sunna. Le «roman de Mahomet» fut avant tout l'oeuvre des polémistes occidentaux.

Aussi, le fait que notre auteur puise ses informations dans des sources principalement occidentales, s'avère-t-il très significatif. En effet, si nous exceptons les traductions en grec de quelques oeuvres anti-islamiques latines effectuées au cours des siècles XIVe et XVe, il nous faut attendre la fin du XVIIIe ou le début du XIXe pour rencontrer des auteurs grecs qui se tournent vers des polémistes latins pour leur emprunter des renseignements concernant Mahomet et l'islam. Mais par surcroît le cas de notre auteur présente un intérêt tout particulier, du fait qu'il situe ses informateurs grecs et latins au même niveau de crédibilité. La qualité même de saint, de bienheureux et de martyr attribuée aux auteurs latins consultés est acceptée sans contestation aucune, ce qui constitue un phénomène rare dans la littérature orthodoxe.

Les références aux auteurs musulmans, au Coran et à la Tradition, sont indirectes; elles sont tirées des sources occidentales et notre auteur ne leur attribue

pas la même crédibilité. Il n'en reste pas moins cependant que notre traité est le seul texte grec qui, à notre connaissance, accorde une part si importante et si honorable à des auteurs non orthodoxes, voire à des auteurs non grecs et non chrétiens. Son auteur embrasse d'un seul regard l'ensemble de la littérature islamo-chrétienne relative à la personne de Mahomet. Cette attitude de l'auteur donne au traité une dimension spaciale qui fait défaut à la littérature anti-islamique grecque; elle montre aussi qu'à l'époque de la rédaction du traité la pensée et la production littéraire occidentales exerçaient leur influence sur l'ensemble des manifestations intellectuelles et littéraires des Grecs.

Cependant, la réfutation de la mission prophétique de Mahomet, ou plus exactement la démonstration de l'imposture du prophète de l'islam à laquelle se livre notre auteur, suit la tradition de la polémique anti-islamique grecque. Dans leur souci de démontrer que Mahomet ne pouvait pas être un prophète et que sa vie ne s'accordait pas avec la vie de sainteté des vrais envoyés de Dieu, les polémistes byzantins avaient, très tôt, mis l'accent, d'une part sur l'absence de toute référence biblique concernant la mission de Mahomet, d'autre part sur les déviations de sa conduite morale. Afin de répondre à ces accusations, les apologistes musulmans avaient alors cherché à construire la vie de leur prophète en fonction, ou plutôt sur le modèle de la vie du Christ et des autres prophètes. En effet, tous les récits concernant la conception et la naissance miraculeuses de Mahomet d'une part, et ceux ayant trait à son voyage nocturne et à son ascension au ciel d'autre part, avaient pour fonction principale de démontrer l'affinité du prophète de l'islam avec les autres prophètes, et par surcroît la supériorité de sa mission par rapport à la mission des autres prophètes, notamment du Christ. Ce n'est donc pas par hasard que la partie la plus importante du traité porte sur ces deux moments privilégiés de la vie de Mahomet. Aussi le traité *Sur l'imposture de Mahomet* s'inscrit-il dans la longue tradition de la polémique et de l'apologétique islamo-chrétienne, telle qu'elle apparaît à travers les divers textes arabes et byzantins.

Il en est de même de la démarche intellectuelle, c'est-à-dire de l'argumentation. L'auteur semble marquer une préférence particulière pour les anecdotes de nature à rendre l'adversaire risible aux yeux du lecteur. La lecture du traité nous fait penser à Jean Damascène et davantage encore à Barthélemy d'Édesse. *Sur l'imposture de Mahomet* est un texte populaire non tant par son style et sa langue que par ses destinataires. Le public auquel il s'adresse, ce sont des gens de peu d'instruction, moines ou laïcs. Une argumentation théologique abstraite ne saurait avoir sur eux le même impact qu'un discours composé d'images, de comparaisons, de contradictions, de paradoxes, de dessins. Certes la démarche intellectuelle de l'auteur peut nous paraître, à nous lecteurs d'aujourd'hui, infantile, débile. Mais pour l'apprécier à sa juste valeur, nous devons considérer la façon dont elle pouvait fonctionner en agissant à cette époque-là sur la sensibilité et

l'intelligence d'un public populaire. Le fait qu'il ne nous reste de ce texte qu'un seul manuscrit ne doit pas nous étonner, vu la date tardive de sa rédaction. D'autres textes du même genre, anti-islamiques ou anti-latins, rédigés à des époques plus propices à leur conservation et à leur propagation, ont pu avoir une audience considérable. Nous pensons au texte de Barthélemy d'Édesse et à la *Lettre* attribuée à Aréthas de Césarée pour l'époque byzantine, aux sermons de Nectarios Terpos et au traité d'Anastasios Gordios pour l'époque post-byzantine, et l'on pourrait allonger cette liste de manière considérable.

Une autre caractéristique de la démarche intellectuelle de notre auteur, caractéristique que l'on rencontre chez presque tous les polémistes populaires, est le mélange constant et presque systématique du fait historique, réel ou légendaire, avec sa réfutation, de la narration avec le commentaire, du discours indirect avec le discours direct. En effet, chaque séquence narrative, aussi brève soit-elle, comporte sa propre partie réfutative, construite de manière à faire appel à l'imagination et à la sensibilité du lecteur plutôt qu'à son intelligence et à ses facultés de raisonnement par abstraction. L'auteur se charge à réfléchir à sa place, tantôt par des interventions brèves et incisives, matérialisées par des parenthèses, tantôt par des digressions beaucoup plus longues, signalées par des guillemets, des sous-titres et des expressions du type «mais revenons à notre propos».

Le traité cite abondamment les sources musulmanes: le Coran, la Sunna, al-Kisâ'î, Ibn 'Abbâs, les livres *Agar* et *Chants victorieux*. Ces références sont certes indirectes, mais ce qu'il importe de souligner du point de vue de la démarche intellectuelle de notre auteur, c'est que le «témoin» musulman n'est cité que pour être réfuté. Son témoignage n'a aucune valeur face au témoignage d'un auteur chrétien, quelle que soit l'origine de ce dernier. Par exemple, notre auteur récuse le témoignage unanime de la Communauté musulmane au sujet de la demi-lune suspendue au-dessus du tombeau de Mahomet. Par contre, il prête toute sa confiance à Gabriel Brémond qui avait trompé toute cette Communauté en se faisant passer pour un musulman. Il nie les visions de l'ange Gabriel chez Mahomet, ce qui constitue l'un des fondements de la foi musulmane, mais il fait reposer son argumentation à ce sujet sur les propos puérils de Nil le Myrovlyte. Il récuse l'angélologie musulmane, mais il fait sienne la démonologie chrétienne la plus populaire, celle qui relève de la légende et de la superstition. Cette démarche intellectuelle est en fait celle pratiquée par tous les polémistes chrétiens, occidentaux et orientaux. Le témoignage de l'infidèle, considéré comme un être religieusement et culturellement, voire même intellectuellement, inférieur, ne saurait prévaloir sur le témoignage d'un chrétien. L'argumentation de notre auteur fonctionne donc, sur ce point également, selon l'univers mental de l'époque, selon les idées et les principes établis et pratiqués depuis fort longtemps. Pour l'époque de notre traité une

démarche intellectuelle différente serait impensable, sinon pour l'auteur, du moins pour le lecteur.

Par ailleurs, notons que le droit islamique fait, lui aussi, une distinction très nette entre la valeur du témoignage d'un musulman et celle du témoignage d'un non musulman. Mais dans le domaine de la littérature islamo-chrétienne de polémique et d'apologétique il apparaît une différence fondamentale entre l'attitude musulmane et l'attitude chrétienne. Du fait même que le Coran reconnaît comme authentiques la mission des prophètes antérieurs et leur message, les polémistes musulmans témoignent toujours un grand respect à l'égard de la religion chrétienne et de son fondateur, quand bien même leur attitude envers les chrétiens est hostile, méprisante et insultante. Par contre, les polémistes chrétiens n'ont presque jamais fait preuve du moindre respect à l'égard de Mahomet et de sa religion, du fait que l'ecclésiologie chrétienne leur interdisait l'acceptation d'une révélation postérieure à celle du Christ. Les propos de notre auteur ne doivent donc pas nous étonner, quelle que soit leur teneur. Tous les écrits anti-islamiques populaires (et aussi les autres) sont en effet de la même nature.

Nous ne voulons pas nous étendre davantage. Les quelques remarques qui précèdent suffisent pour nous aider à comprendre et à apprécier à sa juste valeur le traité que nous publions.

La traduction française de celui-ci nous a posé nombre de problémes. En effet, il est toujours très difficile de rendre en un français correct un texte étranger qui ne l'est pas, sans trahir non plus ce dernier du point de vue de son style et de son vocabulaire.

Nos notes de commentaire du texte ne reflètent que partiellement l'étendue des recherches effectuées, notamment dans le domaine des «sources» de l'auteur. Mais il ne nous était pas possible d'alourdir davantage notre publication.

Pour l'édition critique du texte grec, nous avons tenu à respecter la syntaxe de l'auteur, même lorsque des fautes de construction nous paraissaient flagrantes. Nous ne sommes donc intervenu que dans la ponctuation et la répartition du texte en paragraphes. Pour ce qui est des formes grammaticales, nous avons respecté, et souvent restitué dans ce sens, toutes celles auxquelles semblait tenir notre auteur, même si elles nous paraissaient incorrectes pour le niveau de langue pratiqué. Nous avons seulement supprimé, sans le signaler, l'esprit rude sur le ρ (ῥ) initial ainsi que les deux esprits sur le ρ dédoublé à l'intérieur d'un mot composé (ῤῥ). Notre appareil paracritique, lui, signale les fautes d'orthographe relevées dans le texte.

Astérios Argyriou

Texte et Traduction

Nous notons ici quelques renseignements sur l'imposture de Mahomet, trompeur des foules et antéchrist, renseignements que nous avons empruntés aux écrits d'historiens dignes de foi et que les fidèles doivent connaître pour consolider leur piété.

I. De la naissance et de l'éducation de Mahomet

Selon les uns, cet apostat de Dieu est né en 571 après J.- C., selon les autres en 570. Pour d'autres encore, il est né en 578 ou en 580.[1] Gordios[2] place la naissance de Mahomet en l'année 600 et al-Kisâ'î[3] en l'année 620. Les historiens ne s'accordent pas sur ce point, car ils ne trouvent rien de précis à ce sujet chez les Arabes.[4]

Les Agarins racontent que plusieurs signes accompagnèrent la naissance de Mahomet, mais les plus sages et les plus sensés d'entre eux n'y croient guère.[5] Ils disent, par exemple, que sa mère Āmina n'avait senti aucune douleur, ni pendant la grossesse ni pendant l'accouchement,[6] et que Mahomet est né circoncis et avec le cordon ombilical coupé.[7] D'autres disent qu'il avait été circoncis par son grand-père 'Abd al-Muttalib ou encore par l'ange Gabriel.[8] Abû Ma'šar[9] rapporte que les démons, chassés des cieux,[10] s'étaient rendus auprès de leur chef Béelzeboul pour lui annoncer la naissance de Mahomet et qu'alors Béelzeboul leur avait ordonné de parcourir le monde pour voir si un événement nouveau et étrange ne s'était pas produit. Ainsi, parcourant la terre, les démons arrivèrent à la Mecque où ils aperçurent une maison entourée d'anges et une flamme qui rayonnait jusqu'au ciel.[11] Ils retournèrent donc auprès de leur chef et lui firent part de ce qu'ils avaient vu. Ainsi, par ces signes, Béelzeboul sut que Mahomet était né.[12] À la naissance de Mahomet toutes les idoles tombèrent à terre;[13] les eaux du lac de Saba diminuèrent;[14] le torrent Samaba entra en crue; le feu sacré de la Perse s'éteignit;[15] le palais de Chosroès se mit à trembler et ses quatorze tours s'écroulèrent.[16] L'enfant fut arraché à sa mère et conduit par les anges au lieu où sont nés les prophètes et les apôtres. Une voix se fit alors entendre ordonnant qu'il fût paré de l'habit d'Adam, de la noblesse de Noé, de la science d'Abraham, de la langue d'Ismaël, de la beauté de Joseph, de la patience de Job, de la voix de David, de la

(f 258ʳ) *Ἐδῶ σημειοῦμέν τινα ἀναγκαῖα, νὰ τὰ ἠξεύρουν οἱ πιστοὶ πρὸς πληροφορίαν εὐσεβείας, περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ λαοπλάνου ἀντιχρίστου Μωάμεθ, καθὼς ἀπὸ ἀξιοπίστους ἱστορικοὺς εὕρομεν γεγραμμένα.*

Περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ ἀνατροφῆς του

Ἐγεννήθη οὗτος ὁ ἀποστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ κατά τινας μὲν τῷ 571 ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, κατ' ἄλλους δὲ 570 καὶ κατ' ἄλλους 578 καὶ πάλιν 580, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Γόρδιον 600, ὁ δὲ Κισσαῖος λέγει κατὰ τὸ 620. Διότι οἱ συγγραφεῖς διαφέρουσιν εἰς τοῦτο ἀναμεσόν τους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οὐδένα βέβαιον σιμὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἄραβας εὑρίσκουσι.

Πλάττουσι δὲ οἱ Ἀγαρηνοὶ νὰ ἔγιναν πολλὰ σημεῖα εἰς τὴν γέννησίν του, τὰ ὁποῖα οἱ φρονιμώτεροι καὶ συνετώτεροι δὲν τὰ πιστεύουσι. Λέγουσιν ὅτι ἡ μητέρα του Ἀμηνὰ δὲν ἐκατάλαβε πόνον εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν της βαστάζωντάς τον, οὔτε εἰς τὴν γένναν της· καὶ ὅτι νὰ εὑρέθη περιτετμημένος καὶ ὁ ὀμφαλός του κομμένος. Καὶ ἄλλοι λέγουν νὰ περιετμήθη ἀπὸ τὸν πάππον του Ἀβδὰλ Μοταλλὴβ, καὶ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τὸν Γαβριήλ. Λέγει ὁ Ἀβουναζὰρ ὅτι οἱ δαίμονες διωχθέντες ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐσυναθροίσθησαν ‖ (f. 258ᵛ) πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Βεελζεβοὺλ διὰ νὰ τοῦ φανερώσωσι τοῦτο· καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπρόσταξε νὰ περιέλθωσιν ὅλην τὴν γῆν καὶ νὰ ἰδοῦσι ἐὰν συνέβη κανένα πρᾶγμα καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον. Περιελθόντες λοιπόν, ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν Μέκκαν καὶ εἶδον μίαν οἰκίαν περικυκλωμένην ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων· καὶ ἔλαμπε μία φωτία ἕως τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἐγύρισαν λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ ἀνήγγειλαν εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐγνώρισεν ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ὁ Μωάμεθ. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐγκρημνίσθησαν κατὰ γῆς ὅλα τὰ εἴδωλα· καὶ ὀλιγόστευσε τὸ νερὸν τῆς λίμνης τοῦ Σαβᾶ· καὶ ἐπλημμύρισεν ὁ χείμαρρος Σαμαβά· καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ τῶν Περσῶν ἐσβέσθη· καὶ τὸ παλάτιον τοῦ Χοσρόου ἐσείσθη καὶ ἔπεσον οἱ ιδ' πύργοι του. Καὶ νὰ ἡρπάσθη τὸ παιδίον ἀπὸ τὴν μητέρα του καὶ ἐφέρθη ἀπὸ ἀγγέλους εἰς τόπους ὁποῦ ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ προφῆται καὶ ἀπόστολοι. Καὶ ἠκούσθη φωνὴ νὰ τὸ ἐνδύσουν στολὴν τοῦ Ἀδάμ, καὶ τὴν ὑψηλότητα τοῦ Νῶε, τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, τὴν ὡραιότητα τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τὴν ὑπομονὴν < τοῦ > Ἰώβ, τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ Δαβίδ, καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην τοῦ Ἰωάν-

1 Ἐδῶ ἀναγκαία **8** συμμᾶ **24** ὀλιγώστευσε Σαβὰ **29** Ἀβραάμ

continence de Jean, de la magnificence de Jésus, de la puissance de Moïse et des dons de discernement des prophètes.[17] Quant à sa mère, elle vit un signe montrant que Mahomet allait conquérir le monde entier.[18]

II. De l'imposture de Mahomet, de sa concupiscence démesurée, et de sa mort douloureuse. De même, à propos du fait que s'il avait été prophète, il aurait su que la côte de mouton offerte par la juive rusée était empoisonnée, il ne l'aurait pas mangée, ne se serait pas empoisonné et n'aurait pas enduré une mort aussi douloureuse.

Pierre Pascasius, le martyr, évêque de Gienne,[19] raconte, d'après les sources sarrasines écrites qu'il a consultées, ce qui suit: Mahomet était âgé de quarante ans au moment où il abandonna l'idolâtrie de ses ancêtres et déclara qu'il était prophète et qu'il voyait en vision l'archange Gabriel.[20] Ce dernier était en réalité l'exarque des démons. Mahomet s'était épris d'amour pour Khadîdja, femme riche, descendant d'une famille noble de la Mecque, qu'il fit céder à son amour de manière démoniaque. Le voyant sous l'emprise du diable, Khadîdja se tourmentait, mais Mahomet affirmait qu'il avait toujours la vision de Gabriel devant lui. (En réalité il était habité par le démon).[21] Alors Khadîdja lui proposa de s'asseoir sur son genou droit, puis sur son genou gauche et de poser sa tête sur sa poitrine. À chaque fois, elle lui demandait s'il continuait à voir Gabriel et Mahomet répondait qu'il le voyait. Mais comme elle-même ne voyait rien, elle couvrit le visage de Mahomet d'un foulard, puis de son tablier. Et à chaque fois qu'elle lui posait la question, Mahomet répondait qu'il continuait à voir l'ange. Enfin, lorsque Khadîdja le prit sous ses jambes et le couvrit du bas de sa robe, Mahomet dit qu'il ne voyait plus l'ange.[22]

La solution à ce problème nous est donnée par le bienheureux Nil le Myrovlyte[23] qui dit que Satan, comme tout autre esprit malin et impudique, pousse le malheureux homme à commettre le péché de la chair, qu'il reste avec lui jusqu'à ce que celui-ci ait accompli l'acte sexuel, et qu'ensuite il s'en va. Satan agit ainsi, tout d'abord pour laisser croire que l'homme commet le péché de son propre gré, en faisant usage du libre arbitre que Dieu lui accorda, et non pas sous l'impulsion du démon. Ceci est du reste évident, car le désir ardent que l'homme éprouvait auparavant, est assouvi aussitôt après l'accomplissement de l'acte sexuel. L'homme éprouve alors un sentiment de dégoût. Après l'éjection du sperme

νου, καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Μωσέως, καὶ νὰ τοῦ δώσουν προτερήματα καὶ εὐφυΐαν τῶν προφητῶν. Καὶ ἡ μήτηρ του εἶδε σημεῖον ὁποῦ ἐφανέρωνε ὅτι μέλλει νὰ κυριεύσῃ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην. ||

(f. 259r) *Περὶ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ Μωάμεθ, ἡδονῆς σαρκικῆς ἧς ἀκρατῶς ἀπελάμβανε, καὶ θανάτου ἐπωδύνου ὁποῦ ἐδοκίμασε, καὶ ὅτι εἰ ἦν προφήτης, πῶς δὲν ἐγνώρισε τὴν φαρμακευμένην πλάτην τοῦ προβάτου ὁποῦ ἡ Ἑβραία δολίως τὸν ἐφίλευσε καὶ φαρμακευθεὶς κακῶς καὶ πολυωδύνως ἀπέθανεν.*

Πέτρος ὁ ἱερομάρτυς, Πασχάσιος τὸ ἐπίκλην, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Γιέννης, διηγεῖται νὰ ἐπαράλαβεν ἀπὸ τὰ βιβλία τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ὅτι ὁ Μωάμεθ ἦτον χρόνων 40 ὅταν ἄφησε τὴν πατρῴαν του εἰδωλολατρείαν καὶ ἐκήρυξε τὸν ἑαυτόν του διὰ προφήτην· καὶ ὅτι νὰ ἔβλεπε τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Γαβριήλ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἦτον κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔξαρχος τῶν δαιμόνων. Ἠγάπησε δὲ τὴν Χαδίγην, τὴν ὁποίαν διὰ δαιμονικῆς ἐπῳδίας ἐπλήγωσεν εἰς τὸν ἔρωτά του, ἡ ὁποία ἦτον πλουσία καὶ ἀπὸ γένος τῆς Μέκκας. Ἥτις, βλέπουσα αὐτὸν ἐνεργούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, ἐταράττετο. Ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ ὅτι νὰ ἔβλεπε τὸν Γαβριὴλ πάντοτε ἔμπροσθέν του (εἶχε γὰρ ἔνοικον τὸν διάβολον). Ἡ δὲ Χαδίγη ἐπαρακίνησεν αὐτὸν νὰ καθίσῃ εἰς τὸ δεξιόν της γόνυ, ἔπειτα εἰς τὸ ἀριστερόν, καὶ νὰ ἀκουμβίξῃ εἰς τὸν κόλπον της. Καὶ τότε τὸν ἠρώτα ἂν ἔβλεπε τὸν Γαβριήλ. Καὶ ὁ Μωάμεθ τῆς ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι τὸν ἔβλεπε. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνη δὲν τὸν ἔβλεπεν, τοῦ ἐσκέπασε τὸ πρόσωπον ||(f. 259v) μὲ ἕνα μανδήλιον, καὶ πάλιν μὲ τὴν ποδιάν της, καὶ τὸν ἠρώτα ἂν τὸν ἔβλεπεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τὸν ἔβλεπεν. Ὅταν ὅμως τὸν ἔβαλεν ὑπὸ κάτω τῶν σκελῶν της καὶ τὸν ἐσκέπασε μὲ τὴν ποδιὰν τοῦ φορέματός της, τότε εἶπεν ὅτι δὲν τὸν ἔβλεπεν.

Τὴν δὲ λύσιν τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπορίας μᾶς τὴν διαλύει ὁ ὅσιος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Νεῖλος ὁ Μυροβλύτης, λέγων ὅτι ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ κάθε πονηρὸν πνεῦμα πορνείας παρακινεῖ τὸν ταλαίπωρον ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἕως νὰ τὸν φέρῃ εἰς τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς ἀτιμίας. Καὶ τότε ἀναχωρεῖ ὁ πονηρός· πρῶτον μὲν διὰ νὰ φανῇ ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οἰκείας του θελήσεως ἁμαρτάνει καὶ ὄχι ἀπὸ βίαν τοῦ σατανᾶ, διὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ὅπου τοῦ ἐδόθη παρὰ θεοῦ. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι δῆλον· ὅτι ἡ πολλὴ πύρωσις καὶ ἐπιθυμία ὁποῦ εἶχε πρότερον, ὅτε ἔλθῃ εἰς τὸ ἔργον, τοῦ κόπτεται καὶ ὡς ἀηδῶς φερόμενος συνουσιάζεται. Ὅτε δὲ μάλιστα ἐκρεύσῃ τὸ σπέρμα,

8 πολυοδύνως **12** πατρῶαν **21** ἠρῶτα **23** ἠρῶτα **24** ἔβλεπε **29** πράξιν **30** φέρων **35** ἐκρεύσει

notamment, il ressent davantage encore l'épuisement de son corps et sa honte et aurait préféré se trouver loin du corps avec lequel il s'est souillé. Mais l'acte honteux est déjà consommé. Voici donc la première raison pour laquelle Satan s'éloigne de l'homme une fois le péché de la chair commis.

La deuxième raison de son éloignement est que Satan craint les flammes éternelles de l'enfer que lui-même alluma. En tant qu'être immatériel, il connaît en effet bien la condamnation effroyable de l'enfer, notamment cette flamme éternelle qui reçoit ceut qui commettent l'acte homosexuel et la sodomisation de la femme.[24] En effet, Satan craint encore davantage ce terrible péché, car il connaît le châtiment qui frappera ceux qui commettent cet acte contre nature, qui brouillent les lois naturelles et deviennent ainsi à la fois meurtriers et lieu du meurtre (en effet, le sperme qui, s'il était tombé dans la matrice, aurait formé un être humain, meurt dans cette union contre nature). Car le péché et le meurtre sont commis à l'intérieur du corps humain. Craignant donc la colère de Dieu et la condamnation dans le feu éternel avant le temps prescrit, le diable s'enfuit hors du monde habité. L'homme reste alors seul, avec l'impression d'avoir commis le péché de son propre gré. C'est pourquoi le désir ardent qu'il éprouvait au moment de l'union charnelle se trouve assouvi après l'acte sexuel. Mais l'homme, emporté par l'ardent désir d'accomplir l'acte sexuel, garde l'impression d'agir librement et non pas malgré lui. Il s'agit là d'un fait bien évident. Et c'est donc pour cette raison que le démon qui se présentait à Mahomet sous la forme de Gabriel disparut au moment où Khadîdja mit la tête de Mahomet entre ses jambes dans l'intention de commettre avec lui l'acte du péché.

Le même auteur, Pierre le Martyr, dit encore, d'après d'autres sources arabes écrites: que voyant le démon sous forme d'ange, Mahomet tombait à terre, tel un épileptique; qu'il se couvrait la tête d'un foulard et le corps d'un drap; que tout son corps était inondé de sueur; que lorsqu'il revenait à lui, il se levait et se mettait à prophétiser comme les prophètes de Baal, et qu'il prétendait qu'il tombait à terre évanoui parce qu'il ne pouvait supporter la splendeur excessive du faux ange qui se présentait à lui.[25] Le fait qu'il tombait à terre évanoui et qu'il se couvrait, Mahomet le rapporte lui-même dans la sourate 73 du Coran intitulée *Celui qui s'est enveloppé*,[26] et dans la sourate 27 intitulée *Celui couvert d'un manteau*.[27]

Philippe Guadagnoli[28] raconte, selon le livre ottoman *Agar* et le livre *Chants victorieux*,[29] que Dieu s'entretenait avec Mahomet; que Khadîdja fut la première

τότε ἀληθῶς αἰσθάνεται τὴν φθορὰν τοῦ σώματός του καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ὁποῦ λαμβάνει, καὶ ἂν ἦτον τρόπος νὰ ἀποσύρνετο ἀπὸ τὸ ὑποκείμενον σῶμα ὁποῦ ἐμιάνθη. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔλαβε πέρας. Κατὰ γοῦν πρῶτον αἴτιον ἀναχωρεῖ ὁ σατανᾶς, ὅτε ἔλθῃ εἰς πρᾶξιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ‖ (f. 260ʳ) ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

Δεύτερον δέ, φοβούμενος τὸ πῦρ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως ὁποῦ ἐξέκαυσεν. Ὅτι αὐτὸς μόνος ὡς ἄυλον πνεῦμα γνωρίζει τὴν φρικτὴν καταδίκην τῆς κολάσεως, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ αἰώνιον ἐκεῖνο πῦρ ὁποῦ δέχεται τοὺς ἀρσενοκοίτας καὶ τὴν παρὰ φύσιν μίξιν τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσθια. Ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ φοβερὸν ἀνόμημα φοβεῖται περισσότερον ὁ μιαρός, γινώσκων τὴν φρικτὴν καταδίκην ὁποῦ ἀναμένει τοὺς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἀνόμημα πράττοντας, ὡς τὴν φύσιν εἰσθολοῦντας καὶ φονεῖς γενομένους (Φονεύεται γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα ὁποῦ ἔμελλε συλληφθῆναι εἰς ἄνθρωπον, ἐὰν εἰς μῆτραν γυναικὸς ἐρεύετο), καὶ ὡς τόπος τοῦ φόνου γενομένους. Ἔνδοθεν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος γίνεται τὸ ἀνόμημα καὶ ὁ φόνος. Φοβούμενος γοῦν ὁ διάβολος μὴν ἤθελεν ὀργισθῇ ἀπὸ τὸν θεὸν καὶ καταδικασθῇ εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο ὁποῦ ἐξέκαυσε καὶ ριφθῇ πρὸ καιροῦ του, φεύγων φεύγει τότε ἔξω τῆς οἰκουμένης. Καὶ μένει ὁ ἁμαρτάνων ὡς θεληματικῶς του ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς μίξεως, ἡ προτέρα ἔκκαυσις τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἣν εἶχε, τοῦ μαραίνεται τότε. Πλὴν εὑρισκόμενος εἰς ἀκμὴν τοῦμιασμοῦ, ποιεῖ τὸ ἁμάρτημα ὡς μὴ βιαζόμενος τάχα ἀλλὰ θέλων. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι παρατηρημένον. Τούτου γοῦν ἕνεκα ὁ εἰς εἶδος τοῦ Γαβριὴλ φαινόμενος δαίμων δὲν ἐφαίνετο πλέον, ὅτε ἡ Χαδίγη ἔβαλε τὴν κεφαλήν του εἰς τὰ σκέλη της διὰ πρᾶξιν ἀνομίας.‖

(f. 260ᵛ) Λέγει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἱερομάρτυς Πέτρος νὰ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ ἄλλα ἀραβικὰ βιβλία ὅτι βλέπωντας ὁ Μωάμεθ τὸν ὡς ἄγγελον φαινόμενον διάβολον, ἔπιπτεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὡς οἱ σεληνιαζόμενοι, καὶ ἐσκέπαζε τὴν κεφαλήν του μὲ ἕνα κάλυμμα καὶ τὸν ἑαυτόν του μὲ ἕνα σινδόνι, καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλον του τὸ σῶμα ἔτρεχε πολὺς ἵδρωτας. Καὶ ὅταν ἀνελάμβανε τὰς φρένας του, ἐσηκώνετο καὶ ἐπροφήτευε καθὼς οἱ προφῆται τοῦ Βάαλ, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀπὸ τὴν ὑπερβολικὴν λάμψιν τοῦ φαινομένου ψευδαγγέλου ἔπιπτε λιποθυμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν μὴ δυνάμενος νὰ ὑποφέρῃ. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ Μωάμεθ νὰ ἔπιπτεν εἰς τὴν γῆν λιποψυχῶντας καὶ ἐσκεπάζετο, τὸ φανερώνει ὁ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ 73 κεφάλαιον τοῦ Ἀλκορανίου, *Περιτυλιγμένος* καλούμενον, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ 27 κεφάλαιον οὗ ὁ τίτλος *Σκεπασμένος* λέγεται.

Καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Γουαδανίολος λέγει, ἐκ τοῦ ὀθωμανικοῦ βιβλίου καλούμενον *Ἄγαρ* καὶ βιβλίον *Νικητήρια*, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς νὰ ὡμίλει μὲ τὸν Μωά-

4 πράξιν **9** παραφύσιν ὀπίσθία **10** ἀνόμιμα **16** ἐξέκκαυσε **23** ἔβαλλε πράξιν **29** ἐσυκώνετο **31** λειποθυμῶν **33** λειποψυχῶντας **37** ὁμίλῃ

à croire en lui;[30] que 'Alī[31] était son neveu; que Mahomet avait reçu de Dieu l'ordre d'enseigner sa loi;[32] que quelqu'un lui fendit la poitrine, lui enleva le coeur, le lava et le remit à sa place.[33]

Il raconte encore que l'on apporta à Mahomet une monture nommée al-Burâk, d'une taille supérieure à celle d'un âne,[34] et que l'ayant montée il partit pour Jérusalem,[35] tout comme le Christ, notre Seigneur, qui entra dans la Ville Sainte à dos d'âne[36] (Quelle insulte à Dieu et au Christ!); qu'il entendit à sa droite une voix qui lui répéta trois fois: «Mahomet, je te prie, arrête-toi un peu. -Mahomet, je te prie, fais une petite halte. -Mahomet, je te prie, attends un peu»; que celui-ci continua sa route sans prêter attention à la voix; que par la suite il entendit la même voix à sa gauche sans davantage lui prêter attention; qu'après cela, Gabriel lui expliqua la signification de ces voix, à savoir que s'il avait prêté attention à la voix de droite, sa nation aurait adopté le judaïsme, alors que s'il avait écouté celle de gauche, sa nation aurait embrassé le christianisme; que Gabriel félicita Mahomet de n'avoir pas prêté attention à ces deux voix[37] et lui dit que le judaïsme est préférable au christianisme, car il admet la circoncision et s'accorde avec l'islam. Les deux religions sont en effet, toutes deux, ennemies du christianisme.[38]

Arrivant à Jérusalem, au Temple de Salomôn[39] (alors détruit), Mahomet ment en disant qu'il entra dans le Temple qui est actuellement leur propre sanctuaire et qu'il attela sa monture à l'endroit où les prophètes attelaient la leur.[40] Mahomet ment aussi en disant que par la suite il entra dans le Temple de Salomon et non pas dans l'église du Saint Sépulcre. Car ce Temple, détruit, n'existait plus à cette époque-là. Ce n'est que plus tard que son troisième successeur, le calife Omar, qui avait conquis Jérusalem, construisit à l'emplacement du Temple de Salomon le sanctuaire musulman que l'on voit encore de nos jours. Dans le Temple, Mahomet se prosterna deux fois pour vénérer le lieu.[41] Par la suite, à la sortie du Temple, le diable qui se présentait à lui sous la forme de Gabriel, offrit à Mahomet un récipient de vin et un autre de lait, et celui-ci prit seulement le récipient de lait. Gabriel le félicita alors de n'avoir pas bu le vin et de ne pas avoir ainsi participé au sang du Christ, le Sauveur.[42] Ensuite Mahomet vit une très belle femme parée de toutes sortes de bijoux. Levant les bras, elle pria Mahomet à trois reprises de s'arrêter un peu. Mais celui-ci ne lui répondit pas et ne lui prêta pas attention. Gabriel lui expliqua que cette femme représentait le monde d'ici-bas et que s'il lui avait prêté attention, il se serait adonné aux préoccupations de ce monde.[43]

Par la suite, Mahomet monta sur la lune[44] où se trouvait l'ange (diable) Asmaël[45] avec une armée de 70.000 démons; chacun d'eux commandait une autre

μεθ, καὶ ἡ Χαδίγη πρώτη ἐπίστευσεν εἰς αὐτόν, εἶτα ὁ Ἀλῆς ἀνεψιός του· καὶ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τὸν θεὸν προσταγὴν νὰ διδάξῃ τὸν νόμον του· καὶ ὅτι κάποιος ἔσχισε τὸ στῆθος του, καὶ εὔγαλε τὴν καρδίαν του καὶ τὴν ἔπλυνε, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἔθεσεν εἰς τὸν τόπον της.

Καὶ τοῦ ἔφερεν ἕνα ζῶον *Ἀλβορὰκ* καλούμενον, μεγαλήτερον ἀπὸ ὄνον.|| (f. 261^r) Καὶ ἀναβαίνωντας εἰς αὐτό, ἐκίνησε τὴν στράταν του πρὸς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καθὼς ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐπὶ πώλου ὄνου καθεζόμενος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Πόλιν (ὢ τῆς ἀντιχρίστου ἀντιθεΐας!). Καὶ ὅτι ἤκουσε φωνὴν τρεῖς φοραῖς ἀπὸ τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη ὁποῦ τοῦ ἔλεγεν· «Ὦ Μωάμεθ, παρακαλῶ σε, στάσου ὀλίγον· ὦ Μωάμεθ, παρακαλῶ σε, πρόσμενε ὀλίγον· ὦ Μωάμεθ, παρακαλῶ σε, καρτέρησον ὀλίγον». Καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔτρεξε χωρὶς νὰ προσέξῃ εἰς τὰς φωνάς. Ἔπειτα ἤκουσε καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη τὴν αὐτὴν φωνήν, ἀμὴ ποσῶς ἀκρόασιν δὲν ἔδωκε. Καὶ ὁ Γαβριὴλ ὕστερον τοῦ ἐξήγησε τὴν ἔννοιαν τῶν φωνῶν· ὅτι ἐὰν ἤθελε προσέξῃ εἰς τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἀκουσθεῖσαν φωνήν, ἤθελεν ἰουδαΐσῃ τὸ γένος του· καὶ ἂν ἴσως πάλιν ἤθελεν ἀκούσῃ τὴν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, ἤθελε δεχθῇ τὸν χριστιανισμόν. Καὶ τὸν ἐπαίνεσεν ὁποῦ δὲν ἔδωκεν εἰς αὐτὰς ἀκρόασιν· καὶ προτιμητέα εἶναι ὁ ἰουδαϊσμός, ὡς ἂν ὁποῦ ἐδέχθη τὴν περιτομήν· καὶ συμφωνεῖ μὲ τὸν ἰουδαϊσμὸν ὁ μωαμεθισμός, ὡς μισόχριστοι ἀμφότεροι ὄντες.

Φθάνωντας δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Σολομῶντος (ὁ ὁποῖος ἦτον τότε καταδαφισμένος), ψευδῶς λέγει ὅτι ἐμβῆκεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸν ὁποῦ ἔχουσι τώρα βωμόν, καὶ ἔδεσε τὸ ζῶον του ἐκεῖ, εἰς τὸν τόπον || (f. 261^v) ὅπου ἔδεναν καὶ οἱ προφῆται. Ἔπειτα ἐμβῆκεν εἰς τὸν ναόν, «οὐχὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Τάφου ἀλλὰ τοῦ Σολομῶντος. Καὶ ποῦ τότε ναὸς τοιοῦτος; Ὕστερον ὅμως κατὰ παραχώρησιν θεοῦ ὁ Ὄμαρ γ' διάδοχός του χαλίφης, κυριεύσας τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἔκτισε τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον βωμόν». Ἐπροσκύνησε δέ, λέγει, εἰς τὸν ναὸν σκύπτωντας δύο φοραῖς. Ὕστερον εὐγαίνωντας ἔξω, τοῦ ἐπρόσφερεν ὁ ὡς Γαβριὴλ φαινόμενος εἰς αὐτὸν διάβολος ἕνα ἀγγεῖον μὲ κρασὶ καὶ ἕνα μὲ γάλα. Αὐτὸς ὅμως ἔλαβε τὸ γάλα μόνον καὶ ὁ Γαβριὴλ τὸν ἐπαίνεσεν ὁποῦ δὲν ἔπιε τὸ κρασί, διὰ νὰ μὴ μετέχῃ ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ. Ἔπειτα λέγει ὅτι εἶδε μίαν ὡραιοτάτην γυναῖκα στολισμένην μὲ κάθε στολίδια, καὶ ὑψώσασα τὰς χεῖρας της τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσε τρεῖς φοραῖς νὰ σταματήσῃ ὀλίγον. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲν τῆς ἀπεκρίθη, οὔτε ἐπρόσεχε εἰς αὐτήν. Καὶ τοῦ ἐξήγησεν ὁ Γαβριὴλ νὰ ἦτον ὁ κόσμος· καὶ ἂν ἐπρόσεχεν εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν του, ἤθελε παραδοθῇ εἰς τὰ κοσμικά.

Καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν σελήνην ὁποῦ ἦτον ἄγγελος (διάβολος) Ἀσμαὴλ μὲ 70.000 χιλιάδες στράτευμα. Καὶ καθένας ἀπ' ἐκείνους εἶχε πάλιν

6 ἀναβαίνοντας **7** πόλου **8** ὤ τοῦ **15** ἀκουσθῆσαν ἀνίσως **18** ὡσὰν **21** καταδαφησμένος **27** εὐγαίνοντας **33** σταματίσῃ **36** Ἀσμαΐλ

armée de 70.000 démons.[46] Gabriel frappa à la porte. On lui demanda qui était avec lui. Il répondit que c'était Mahomet. On lui demanda: «Est-il donc bien vrai qu'un apôtre est apparu ces temps-ci?» Il répondit: «Oui». Les démons s'exclamèrent: «Voici qu'est venu le jour heureux et béni», et ils ouvrirent la porte.[47] Mahomet y rencontra Adam qui le salua et lui souhaita la bienvenue. Les âmes des fidèles s'approchèrent alors de Mahomet en disant: «Esprit bon et souffle bon». Quand Mahomet rencontrait l'âme d'un incroyant, celle-ci disait: «Esprit malin et souffle malin».[48] Il raconte encore qu'il monta aux cieux supérieurs ainsi qu'au ciel de la lune. Quand Gabriel ouvrit la porte du second ciel, ils y rencontrèrent Jean le Précurseur et Jésus. Tous deux saluèrent Mahomet et lui souhaitèrent la bienvenue. Plus haut, au troisième ciel, Mahomet rencontra Joseph le très beau[49] (plus haut que le Christ!) qui le salua. Au quatrième ciel, il rencontra Enoch qui le salua. Au cinquième ciel, il trouva Aaron. Au sixième ciel, il trouva Moïse qui lui dit en le saluant: «Les juifs croyaient que j'étais la plus précieuse des créatures auprès de Dieu; mais Mahomet est plus précieux que moi; il est la meilleure des créatures».[50] (Quel blasphème!). Au septième ciel, il rencontra Abraham accoudé au temple appelé *Le Temple visité*, car il est visité chaque jour par 70.000 anges qui n'y reviendront plus jamais (le nombre des anges est infini) jusqu'au Jour de la Résurrection.[51]

Remarque. Quel bavardage! Ces anges sont les esprits du mal. Selon les radotages de ces insensés, ainsi que nous le verrons plus loin, les anges aussi s'accouplent entre eux et se reproduisent, et c'est pourquoi ils sont innombrables.[52]

Les deux hommes se saluèrent mutuellement. Auprès d'Abraham se trouvait la nation qui avait accepté la religion de Mahomet, tous unis dans la même foi et revêtus d'habits resplendissants.[53] Ensuite,[54] Mahomet arriva auprès de l'arbre appelé *Fer* (*Sidret*), arbre qui marque la limite que personne ne peut franchir.[55] Cet arbre est la plus belle des créatures de Dieu et une seule de ses feuilles pouvait couvrir toute la nation arabe. À son pied coulait une fontaine appelée *Salsab*, dont les eaux formaient deux fleuves. Mahomet se lava dans ses eaux et tous ses péchés, passés et futurs, furent effacés.[56]

Puis il monta sur un petit bateau[57] et naviguant sur le fleuve, il arriva au para-

70.000 ἄλλο στράτευμα δαιμόνων. Ὁ δὲ Γαβριὴλ ἐκτύπησε τὴν πόρταν. Καὶ τὸν ἠρώτησαν ποῖον εἶχε ‖ (f. 262r) μαζύ του; Καὶ εἶπε· «Τὸν Μωάμεθ». Καὶ εἶπον· «Μήπως καὶ τώρα ἔγινεν ἀπόστολος;» Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· «Ναί». Καὶ εἶπον ἐκεῖνοι· «Ἔφθασε μακάρια καὶ εὐτυχισμένη ὥρα». Καὶ τοὺς ἤνοιξαν τὴν πόρταν. Καὶ ἐσυναπάντησε τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὸν ἐχαιρέτησε καὶ εὐχήθη. Καὶ προσῆλθον εἰς αὐτὸν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν πιστῶν λέγουσαι· «Πνεῦμα καλὸν καὶ ἀναπνοὴ καλή». Ὅταν δὲ ὑπήντα πνεῦμα ψυχῆς ἀπίστου, ἔλεγε· «Πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἀναπνοὴ πονηρά». Ἔπειτα φλυαρεῖ μὲ ἄλλα, πῶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ὑπεράνω καθὼς καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης. Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὸν δεύτερον οὐρανὸν ἀνοίγωντας τὴν πόρταν ὁ Γαβριήλ, ἐσυναπάντησε τὸν πρόδρομον Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τὸν ἐχαιρέτησαν καὶ τοῦ εὐχήθησαν. Ὑψηλότερα, εἰς τὸν τρίτον οὐρανόν, εὗρε τὸν πάγκαλον Ἰωσὴφ (ἀνώτερα τοῦ Χριστοῦ!) καὶ τὸν ἐχαιρέτησεν. Εἰς τὸν τέταρτον οὐρανὸν εὗρε τὸν Ἐνὼχ καὶ τὸν ἐχαιρέτησεν. Εἰς τὸν πέμπτον οὐρανὸν εὗρε τὸν Ἀαρών. Εἰς τὸν ἕκτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν καὶ χαιρετῶντας τον εἶπεν· «Οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ἐνόμιζον νὰ εἶμουν ἐγὼ ὁ τιμιώτερος ὅλων τῶν κτισμάτων σιμὰ εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἀμὴ ὁ Μωάμεθ εἶναι ὁ τιμιώτερος ἀπὸ ἐμένα καὶ ἀνώτερος τῶν ποιημάτων (ὢ τῆς βλασφημίας!). Εἰς τὸν ἕβδομον οὐρανὸν εὗρε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀκουμβισμένον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τὸν καλούμενον *Ἐπισκεμμένος*, ὁποῦ ἐμβαίνουν κάθε ‖(f. 262v) ἡμέραν ἑβδομῆντα χιλιάδες ἄγγελοι νὰ τὸν ἐπισκέπτωνται, καὶ οὔτε γυρίζουσε πλέον εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ αὐτοὶ (διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἄμετρον τῶν ἀγγέλων), ἕως τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως.

«*Σχόλιον*: Νόησον φλυαρίαν! Οὗτοι οἱ ἄγγελοί εἰσι πνεύματα πονηρίας. Καὶ καθὼς μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ ἄφρονες, συνουσιάζονται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ γεννοῦσιν ἄλλους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἶναι ἀναρίθμητοι. Οὕτω φρονοῦσιν ὡς ἀλλαχοῦ φαίνεται γεγραμμένον».

Ἐχαιρέτησε λοιπὸν ὁ Μωάμεθ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ αὐτόν. Εὑρίσκοντο δὲ σιμά του τὸ ἔθνος ὁποῦ εἶχε δεχθῆ τὸν νόμον τοῦ Μωάμεθ ἑνωμένοι, λαμπροφορεμένοι. Ἔπειτα ἔφθασε τὸ δένδρον καλούμενον *Σίδηρον*, ἀπὸ τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκεῖθεν κἀνένας δὲν δύναται νὰ περάσῃ, ὡραιότερον ἀπὸ ὅλα τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁποῦ τὸ ἕνα του φύλλον ἐδύνατο νὰ σκεπάσῃ ὅλον τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀράβων. Ὑπὸ κάτωθέν του ἔτρεχε βρύσις καλουμένη *Σαλσαβέτ*, ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας ἐχωρίζοντο δύο ποταμοί. Καὶ ἐνίφθη εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ἐξαλείφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι του καὶ περασμέναι καὶ μέλλουσαι.

Ἔπειτα ἐμβῆκε μὲ πλοιάριον εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἔφθασε τὸν Παράδει-

4 εὐτυχισμένα **7** ὑπῆντα **13** ἀνώτέρα **17** σιμᾶ **19** Ἁβραὰμ **22** ἕως **24** εἶσι **26** οὗτω **28** Ἁβραὰμ **29** σιμμᾶ **34** δύω

dis. Il y vit des oiseaux grands comme des chameaux. Il y vit encore une jeune fille et lui demanda à qui elle était destinée. Celle-ci lui répondit: «À Zayd, fils d'Aréthas, qui comptait alors parmi les vivants[58] (car après leur mort tous les hommes pourront, dans le paradis, avoir des jeunes filles et s'unir à elles). Par la suite, Mahomet vit les flammes de l'enfer et connut le châtiment qu'elles infligent et que ni la pierre ni le fer ne sauraient supporter. Ensuite Mahomet retourna à l'arbre appelé *Fer*[59] qui, sur l'ordre de Dieu, avait été couvert d'oiseaux et d'anges. Sur chaque branche se trouvait perché un ange et Dieu tenait l'arbre dans ses mains.[60]

Dieu fixa à Mahomet cinq cents prières pour chaque jour du ramadân. Mais quand il revint auprès de Moïse, Mahomet fut questionné au sujet de la prière et Moïse lui conseilla de retourner auprès de Dieu et de lui demander de diminuer le nombre des prières afin que sa nation soit en mesure de les pratiquer. C'est ce que fit Mahomet et Dieu fixa leur nombre à cinq par jour. Mais comme chacune d'elles en vaut dix, cela donne cinquante au total.[61]

La *Sunna*, leur second livre après le Coran, ajoute que Mahomet avait vu le fleuve appelé *Kafthir*,[62] dont la longueur et la largeur étaient de soixante-dix mille jours de marche. Mahomet dit que l'eau de ce fleuve était douce; qu'il se trouvait là autant de verres à boire qu'il y a des étoiles dans le ciel;[63] que dans le paradis il y avait des jeunes gens et des jeunes filles qui servaient à manger et à boire; que les jeunes filles étaient d'une beauté incomparable, à tel point que si l'une d'entre elles était apparue dans le ciel la nuit, elle aurait éclairé tout l'univers comme un soleil; ou bien, si elle avait craché dans la mer, les eaux de celle-ci seraient devenues aussi sucrées que le miel. C'est avec ces jeunes filles que les musulmans pourront s'accoupler dans le paradis.[64]

La *Sunna* écrit aussi que dans le septième ciel, Mahomet vit une foule d'anges. La taille de chacun d'eux dépassait de plusieurs milliers de coudées celle de l'univers. Chaque ange avait sept cent mille têtes et sur chaque tête sept cent mille bouches et dans chaque bouche sept cent mille langues qui rendaient grâce à Dieu et le louaient dans sept cent mille dialectes différents.[65] Il vit aussi un ange qui pleurait et il voulut savoir pourquoi. L'ange lui répondit qu'il était le péché. Mahomet pria alors pour lui.[66]

Gabriel confia Mahomet à un autre ange qui le confia à un autre et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à ce que Mahomet arrivât près de Dieu.[67] Celui-ci posa alors sa main sur le dos de Mahomet qui fut transpercé jusqu'à la moëlle des os par la froideur de la main de Dieu (du diable bien évidemment). C'est ce Dieu «compact» qu'un concile avait jadis anathématisé. Car Dieu est lumière et non pas un Dieu froid.

σον, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἦσαν πουλία μεγάλα ὡς κάμηλοι. Καὶ εἶδε μία κορασίδα καὶ τὴν ἠρώτησε διὰ ποῖον ἦτον ἑτοιμασμένη; Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη· «Διὰ τὸν Ζάιδον, υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀρέθα», ὅστις ἔζη τότε (ὅτι μετὰ θάνατον ὅλοι ἔχουν νὰ λάβουν ‖ (f. 263^r) κοράσια εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον νὰ συνουσιάζωνται). Ἔπειτα εἶδε τὸ πῦρ τῆς Κολάσεως καὶ ἐγνώρισε τὴν τιμωρίαν της, ὁποῦ δὲν ὑποφέρει οὔτε πέτρα οὔτε σίδηρος. Καὶ ἐστράφη πάλιν εἰς τὸν δένδρον *Σίδηρον*, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐσκέπασαν κατὰ προσταγὴν θεοῦ πλῆθος πουλίων καὶ ἀγγέλων. Καὶ ἐπάνω εἰς κάθε κλωνάρι ἐκατέβη ἕνας ἄγγελος. Καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δένδρον τὸ ἐβάσταζεν ὁ θεὸς μὲ τὰς χεῖρας του.

Καὶ ἐδιώρισε τὸν Μωάμεθ νὰ προσεύχεται πεντακόσιαις προσευχαῖς τοῦ Ναμαζίου κάθε ἡμέραν. Ἔπειτα γυρίζωντας πρὸς τὸν Μωϋσῆν, τὸν ἠρώτησε· καὶ τοῦ εἶπε νὰ γυρίσῃ εἰς τὸν θεὸν νὰ τὰς ὀλιγοστεύσῃ διὰ τὸ ἔθνος του νὰ τὰς ὑποφέρουν. Καὶ ἐστράφη πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦ ταῖς ὀλιγόστευσε, πέντε φοραῖς τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα, ὅτι ἡ κάθε μία ἀξίζει διὰ δέκα καὶ γίνονται πενῆντα.

Ἔτι προσθέτει τὸ βιβλίον *Σῶνα*, δεύτερον τοῦ Ἀλκορανίου, ὅτι εἶδεν ὁ Μωάμεθ τὸν ποταμὸν Καυθήρ, ὁποῦ ἦτον κατὰ τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἑβδομῆντα χιλιάδες ἡμερῶν δρόμος. Καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἦτον γλυκός. Καὶ εἶδεν ἐκεῖ τόσα ποτήρια διὰ νὰ πίνῃ νερόν, ὅσα εἶναι τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ κορασίδας καὶ νέα παιδία νὰ ὑπηρετοῦν εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον εἰς τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ πιοτά. Καὶ τὰ κοράσια ἦσαν ὡραιότατα, ἀμίμητα· ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα ἐὰν ἐφαίνετο μία τὴν νύκτα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἤθελε φωτίσῃ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ‖ (f. 263^v) ὡς ἥλιος· καὶ ἂν ἴσως ἤθελε πτύσῃ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἤθελε τὴν γλυκάνῃ ὡς μέλι. Καὶ μὲ αὐτὰς ἔχουν νὰ συνουσιάζωνται οἱ Μωαμεθῖται.

Εἰς τὸν ἕβδομον οὐρανὸν γράφει ὅτι νὰ εἶδεν ὁ Μωάμεθ πλῆθος ἀγγέλων. Καὶ ὁ ἕνας νὰ ἦτον πολλαῖς χιλιάδες πήχαις μεγαλήτερος ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον. Καὶ ὁ κάθε ἕνας ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν ἑπτακόσιαις χιλιάδες κεφαλάς, καὶ εἰς κάθε κεφαλὴν ἑπτακόσιαις χιλιάδες στόματα, καὶ εἰς κάθε στόμα ἑπτακόσιαις χιλιάδες γλώσσαις ὁποῦ ὑμνοῦσαν καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν μὲ ἑπτακόσιαις χιλιάδες διαλέκτους. Εἶδε καὶ ἕναν ἄγγελον ὁποῦ ἔκλαιε καὶ τὸν ἠρώτησε τὴν αἰτίαν. Καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦτον ἡ ἁμαρτία, καὶ ἐπαρακάλεσεν ὁ Μωάμεθ τὸν θεὸν διὰ αὐτόν.

Καὶ ὁ Γαβριὴλ τὸν ἐπαρέδωκεν εἰς ἄλλον ἄγγελον καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἰς ἄλλον, ἕως ὁποῦ ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸν θεόν. Καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἐπίασε μὲ τὸ χέρι του ἀνάμεσα εἰς ταῖς πλάταις, καὶ ἡ ψυχρότης τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (τοῦ διαβόλου βέβαια) διεπέρασεν ἕως τὸν μυελὸν τῶν ὀστέων τῆς ράχης του. (Αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ ὁλόσφυρος θεὸς ὁποῦ μία Σύνοδος ἀναθεμάτισεν. Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἶναι

8 κλονάρι **12** ὀλιγωστεύσῃ **13** ὀλιγώστευσε **21** ὡραιώτατα ὁποία **23** ἀνίσως **26** πῆχαις **29** γλῶσσαις **34** ἕως **35** χειρος **36** ἕως

Celui qui se présenta à Mahomet était certes le diable.[68]

Leur auteur, Ibn 'Abbâs,[69] écrit encore avoir entendu de la bouche même de Mahomet que la nuit de son retour du paradis, celui-ci aurait partagé le lit de Khadîdja qui conçut alors Fatima (car la religion de ce hors-la-loi est fondée sur l'impureté) et que la conception de l'enfant était due aux nourritures paradisiaques qui créèrent en Mahomet un désir charnel très fort et inopportun (le diable est l'impureté et l'impudicité mêmes).[70] Au cours d'une guerre, comme l'armée turque souffrait du manque de femmes, Fatima apparut dans le ciel et ils purent tous s'unir à elle jusqu'à ce que leur désir soit rassasié.[71] C'est pourquoi les Turcs témoignent un si grand respect à la culotte de Fatima dont ils ont fait leur étendard, leur *santzak cherif*, qu'ils déploient quand ils sont dans une situation difficile. Mais si un non musulman ose le regarder, les musulmans le tuent sur-le-champ. C'est pourquoi, quand les musulmans déploient cet étendard, tous les autres se cachent.[71] Voilà la tiare qui coiffait Mahomet.[72]

Ibn 'Abbâs dit encore que Mahomet garda le secret sur la plupart des choses relatives à cette extase.[73] Au retour de son voyage nocturne, Mahomet s'en vanta auprès des Mecquois et leur dit qu'il s'était rendu à Jérusalem. Ceux-ci le questionnèrent alors sur le nombre des arcades, des lampes et des autels du Temple. Mais Gabriel suspendit le Temple dans le ciel, devant les yeux de Mahomet, et celui-ci put ainsi donner des réponses adéquates.[74]

Cependant ce Temple était entièrement détruit depuis déjà six cents ans environ. Telle est la véracité des histoires ottomanes. Ensuite, lorsqu'Omar construisait le sanctuaire musulman, l'édifice ne voulait pas tenir debout, jusqu'au moment où, sur le conseil des juifs, le calife fit démolir l'église de l'Ascension, située au sommet du mont des Oliviers, et enlever la croix en fer haute de douze coudées. Les moines qui vivaient alors sur cette montagne entendaient la nuit les cris des démons qui travaillaient à la démolition de l'édifice. Car le jour c'étaient les infidèles qui travaillaient, alors que la nuit les démons prenaient la relève, jusqu'au moment où retentissaient les cloches de l'église de la Résurrection appelant les fidèles à l'office. Ce sont ces mêmes démons que plus haut Mahomet appelait des anges. Mais revenons à notre propos.[75]

Étendant ses mains, Mahomet avait promis à ceux de ses adeptes qui mourraient pour sa cause qu'ils allaient obtenir le bonheur du paradis, ses nourritures,

φῶς καὶ οὐχὶ ψυχρός· ἀλλ' ὁ διάβολος ὁποῦ τὸν ἐφάνταζεν ἦτον βέβαια).

Προσέτι ὁ συγγραφεὺς αὐτῶν Εὐναββᾶς γράφει ὅτι νὰ ἤκουσεν ἐκ στόματος τοῦ Μωάμεθ || (f. 264r) ὅτι τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ὁποῦ ἐγύρισεν ἀπὸ τὸν Παράδεισον νὰ ἐκοιμήθη εὐθὺς μὲ τὴν Χαδίγην καὶ συνέλαβεν εὐθὺς τὴν Φατμὲ (ὅτι ἡ ἀκαθαρσία εἶναι ὅλος ὁ θέμεθλος τῆς θρησκείας τοῦ ἀνόμου), καὶ ἡ σύλληψις τῆς Φατμὲ ἔγινεν ἀπὸ τὸ φαγητὸν καὶ πιοτὸν τοῦ Παραδείσου. Διότι τὸ φαγητὸν καὶ πιοτὸν τοῦ Παραδείσου τὸν εἶχε κινήσει εἰς μίαν ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκικὴν ἄμετρον καὶ παράκαιρον (ὁ γὰρ διάβολος ὅλος πορνεία καὶ ἀκαθαρσία εἶναι). Καὶ εἰς ἕνα πόλεμον ὁποῦ ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Τουρκῶν ἀπὸ πορνείαν, μὴν εὑρίσκοντεςγυναῖκας, ἐφάνη εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἡ Φατμὲ καὶ ἐσυνουσιάσθησαν ὅλοι μὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐχόρτασαν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τους. Ὅθεν τὸ βρακίον της ἔχουν εἰς μέγα σέβας, τὸ φλάμπουρόν του. Ἔχουσι δὲ τὸ σαντζὰκ σερὶφ καὶ εἰς μεγάλην ἀνάγκην τὸ εὐγάνουν, καὶ ἂν τολμήσῃ νὰ τὸ ἰδῇ ἄλλης θρησκείας ἄνθρωπος, πάραυτα τὸν φονεύουσιν. Ὅθεν ὅταν εὐγαίνῃ, κρύπτονται ὅλα τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἀπὸ τὴν παρουσίαν του. Αὐτὸ ἦτον ἡ τιάρα τῆς κεφαλῆς του.

Λέγει ἀκόμη ὅτι τὰ περισσότερα τῆς ἐκστάσεως ἐκείνης νὰ τὰ ἔκρυψε καὶ δὲν τὰ ἐδιηγήθη. Καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὁποῦ ἐγύρισε τὰ ἐκήρυξεν εἰς τοὺς Μεκκανούς, καὶ ἐκαυχᾶτο εἰς αὐτοὺς πῶς εἶχε φθάσει εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν ἠρώτουν πόσαις καμάραις καὶ λύχνους καὶ ἄδυτα εἶχε. Καὶ ὁ Γαβριὴλ ἐκρέμασεν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα τὸν ναὸν || (f. 264v) ὁλόκληρον ἔμπροσθεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεκρίθη εἰς κάθε ἐρώτημα πρεπούμενον.

«Ἀλλ' ὁ ναὸς αὐτὸς ἑξακοσίους χρόνους σχεδὸν προτήτερα εἶχε καταδαφισθῆ καὶ οὔτε εὑρίσκετο λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον. Ἰδοὺ λοιπὸν ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν ὀθωμανικῶν ἱστοριῶν. Ὅτε δὲ ὁ Ὄμαρ ἔκτιζεν αὐτόν, δὲν ἔστεκε τὸ κτίριον, ἕως οὗ διὰ συμβουλῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐκρήμνισε τὸν θαυμαστὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀναλήψεως τὸν ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, καὶ ἐξῆρε τὸν δωδεκάπηχον σιδηροῦν σταυρὸν τὸν ἐκεῖσε ἱστάμενον. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοὶ τότε ἤκουον τὰς νύκτας φωνὰς ὁποῦ ἐκχοάζοντες ἔρριπτον ἔξω τοῦ τείχους χῶμα καὶ λίθους, συνυπουργοῦντες εἰς τὸ ἔργον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς· οἱ μὲν ἀσεβεῖς τὴν ἡμέραν, οἱ δὲ »δαίμονες τὴν νύκτα, ἄχρι τῆς ὥρας ἧς ἔκρουε τὸ ξύλον τῆς συνάξεως τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως· καὶ τότε ἔπαυον αἱ φωναὶ τῶν δαιμόνων, οὓς ἀγγέλους καλεῖ ἄνωθεν ὁ Μωάμεθ. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον ἐπανέλθωμεν».

Ἔδωκεν ὑπόσχεσιν ὁ Μωάμεθ εἰς τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν, ἁπλώνωντας τὴν χεῖρα του, νὰ ἀπολαύσουν τὴν εὐτυχίαν τοῦ Παραδείσου, τὰ

7 κινήσῃ **11** ἐφάνει **15** εὐγαίνει κρύπτωνται **19** φθάσῃ **27** ἕως **34** οὗς **36** ἁπλώνοντας

ses boissons et la jouissance des jeunes filles. Or tout le monde sait que, lorsqu'ils combattent pour défendre leur foi, les musulmans vont à la mort avec empressement.[76]

II. Réfutation de la vision de Mahomet

Afin d'instruire les chrétiens fidèles et de fustiger l'imposture démoniaque de l'antichrist Mahomet, nous notons ce qui suit.

Depuis son expulsion du ciel lumineux qui est situé au-dessus du firmament, Satan séjourne dans l'atmosphère, avec la permission de Dieu, quoique le lieu de son exil soit l'enfer. Pour avoir réussi à tromper l'homme, Satan possède un certain pouvoir sur les âmes qui, après la mort, montent vers le ciel. Cependant, il ne peut exercer ce pouvoir sur les âmes des justes pour les empêcher de franchir les couches supérieures de l'atmosphère et d'entrer dans le second ciel, là où se trouve le paradis intelligible des justes et des saints. Son pouvoir s'exerce donc sur les seules âmes pécheresses, qu'il fait chuter, ainsi que nous l'enseigne saint Antoine et d'autres saints. Par ailleurs, saint Paul lui-même, qui fut tenté par cet ennemi des âmes pendant son ascension au troisième ciel, écrit: «Le Prince de l'empire de l'air, cet Esprit qui poursuit son oeuvre en ceux qui résistent» (Eph 2:2). En effet, ces Princes, ces divers esprits du mal, se sont cantonnés devant la porte du ciel et guettent les âmes, ainsi que nous le dit le Seigneur: «Car le Prince de ce monde vient» (Jn 14:30). Quand vient-il? À la mort de chacun de nous. «Contre moi il ne peut rien» (Jn 14:30). Car le Christ est seul à ne pas avoir commis de péché. Le sachant sans péché, le diable lui ferma les portes de l'enfer. Mais le Christ les détruisit par sa force, ainsi qu'il est écrit: «Portes, levez vos frontons, qu'il entre le roi de gloire» (Ps 24:7). Le diable monte donc jusqu'à la porte des cieux, escorté de ses compagnons appelés *guetteurs* des âmes.[77] C'est jusqu'à cette porte que Mahomet fut élevé quand il avait cru monter au ciel.

Quant aux sept cieux dans lesquels Mahomet prétend être monté, ce sont les demeures des sept planètes du firmament. La porte des cieux, il ne l'a nullement vue, ce grand impie. Il affirme en effet que le diable et ses compagnons le firent d'abord monter dans le ciel de la lune. Or la lune est la planète la plus proche de la terre et elle est entourée de l'espace nécessaire à ses évolutions. Puis il monta à la

φαγητά του καὶ πιοτά του καὶ μίξιν τῶν κορασίων ἐκείνων, ἂν ἴσως θανατωθοῦν διὰ αὐτόν. Ὅθεν ‖ (f. 265ʳ) προθύμως παραδίδονται εἰς θάνατον ἐν καιρῷ μάχης καὶ ὑπερασπίσεως τῆς θρησκείας των, ὡς εἶναι πασίδηλον.

Ἀντίρρησις τῆς θεωρίας τοῦ Μωάμεθ

Πρὸς πληροφορίαν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ στηλίτευσιν τῆς κακοδαίμονος πλάνης τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου Μωάμεθ, γράφομεν ταῦτα.

Ὅτι ὁ Σατανᾶς διωχθεὶς ἀπὸ τὸν ἐμπύρινον οὐρανόν, τὸν ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος, εὑρίσκεται κατὰ συγχώρησιν θεοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, μὲ ὅλον ὁποῦ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια ἐξωρίσθη. Ἀλλὰ μὲ τὸ νὰ ἠπάτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν του εἰς τὸν ἀέρα διὰ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁποῦ ἀναβαίνουσι μετὰ θάνατον. Καὶ τὰς δικαίας οὐδὲν δύναται κωλῦσαι, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἀνώτατα τοῦ ἀέρος ἁρπαζομένας καὶ τὴν πύλην τοῦ στερεώματος διαπερώσας καὶ εἰς τὸν δεύτερον οὐρανὸν προχωρούσας, ἔνθα ὁ νοητὸς Παράδεισος τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων. Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ρίπτει κάτω, ὡς ὁ Μέγας Ἀντώνιος καὶ ἄλλοι ἅγιοι εἴδασι. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, πειραθεὶς ἐν τῷ ἁρπαγῆναι εἰς τρίτον οὐρανὸν καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν πολεμιστὴν τῶν ψυχῶν, διδάσκει λέγων· «Κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆςἀπειθείας». Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς πύλης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παρίστανται αἱ διάφοραι ἐξουσίαι τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας διερευνῶντες τὰς ψυχάς, καθὼς ‖ (f. 265ᵛ) λέγει ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι· «Ἔρχεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου». Πότε; Ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ θανάτου ἑνὸς ἑκάστου. «Καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν». Ἀναμάρτητος γὰρ μόνος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ἐστιν, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον οὐχ εὗρεν οὐδὲν ἁμάρτημα. Διὸ καὶ ἔκλεισε κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰς πύλας τοῦ Ἅδου. Ὅθεν μετὰ δυναστείας συντρίψας αὐτὰς κατὰ τό· «Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ εἰσελεύσεταιὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης». Ἄχρι γοῦν τῆς πύλης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀναβαίνει ὁ διάβολος μὲ τὰς δυνάμεις του, τελώνια τῶν ψυχῶν καλούμενα. Πρὸς αὐτὰ λοιπὸν ἡρπάγη ὁ Μωάμεθ καὶ ἐφαντάσθη κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς ὁποῦ λέγει ὅτι ἀνέβη, εἰσὶν οἱ οἶκοι τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανητῶν εἰς τὸ ὁρώμενον στερέωμα. Τὴν δὲ πύλην τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐδὲ·ποσῶς εἶδεν ὁ ἀσεβέστατος. Καὶ βλέπε ὅτι λέγει πρῶτον ἀνέβη κρατούμενος ἀπὸ τὸν διάβολον καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τῆς σελήνης, ὅτι ἡ σελήνη εὑρίσκεται χαμηλότερον τῶν λοιπῶν πλανητῶν καὶ ἔχει τριγυρί της χῶρον τῆς διαβάσεώς της. Εἶτα ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πλανήτου

1 ἀνίσως θανατοθοῦν **2** παραδίδωνται **9** ἐξορίσθη **11** κωλύσαι **12** διαπερῶσας **14** δὲ δὲ **27** ἡρπάγει **34** διαβάσεως εἶτα

demeure de la planète Hermès, puis successivement à celle de Vénus, du Soleil, de Mars, de Jupiter et de Cronos. Au-dessus des planètes se trouve le pôle zodiaque. Ce sont donc les régions de ces planètes qu'il franchissait alors que les démons lui faisaient croire qu'il voyait ce qu'il prétend avoir vu. Voyons le dessin ci-contre.[78]

Mais ces planètes ne sont pas des cieux. Ce ne sont que des étapes, une sorte de paliers. Dieu plaça ces sept étoiles à la tête des autres et décida que chacune d'elles, à tour de rôle, gouvernerait le monde dans ses diverses manifestations pendant un millier d'années. Chaque planète assume donc à tour de rôle le gouvernement du monde pendant mille ans. L'étoile qui est à la tête d'une période de mille ans est appelée *planète*, et tout dans le monde obéit au mouvement des planètes. Les Grecs païens et les Perses, ayant constaté que tout l'univers obéit au mouvement des planètes, les avaient divinisées sans raison et «adoraient la créature de préférence au Créateur» (Ro 1:25). Ils appelèrent ces étoiles planètes, parce que leur évolution est contraire à celle des autres étoiles. En effet, alors que toutes les étoiles évoluent de l'est vers l'ouest, les planètes se meuvent de l'ouest vers l'est. Mais ces problèmes concernent les savants qui s'occupent des choses de la nature. Quant à nous, revenons à notre propos.

Nous afirmons donc que Mahomet n'était pas monté au ciel qui est situé au-delà du firmament et qui est la première créature de Dieu. Il n'en a pas non plus vu la porte. C'est de façon imaginaire et par opération démoniaque qu'il fut élevé dans l'atmosphère, tout comme Simon le Magicien et comme Kynops.[79] Là-haut, le diable lui fit voir son trône et son pouvoir. Étant lui-même impur, il emplit Mahomet d'impudicité et d'impureté: il lui présenta ses démons sous forme de jeunes filles et de jeunes gens, tels que le très impur Mahomet les souhaitait et les désirait ardemment pour pouvoir se souiller en leur compagnie. C'est pourquoi, aussitôt revenu, Mahomet s'unit à Khadîdja, sa bien-aimée.

Mahomet n'est pas allé non plus à Jérusalem qui, à cette époque-là, se parait de l'éclat de ses églises et était remplie de fidèles et de moines. De façon imaginaire, le diable le fit monter sur son char, qui lui apparut comme un animal monstrueux n'ayant l'allure ni d'un âne ni d'un mulet, et le transporta dans le désert où il avait sa demeure. C'est là qu'il présenta devant ses yeux le temple que plus tard Omar édifia avec la permission de Dieu. Les musulmans racontent bêtement qu'au milieu de ce temple se trouve suspendue une pierre, qui en réalité repose sur deux colonnes, et que sur cette pierre on peut voir l'empreinte des mains lais-

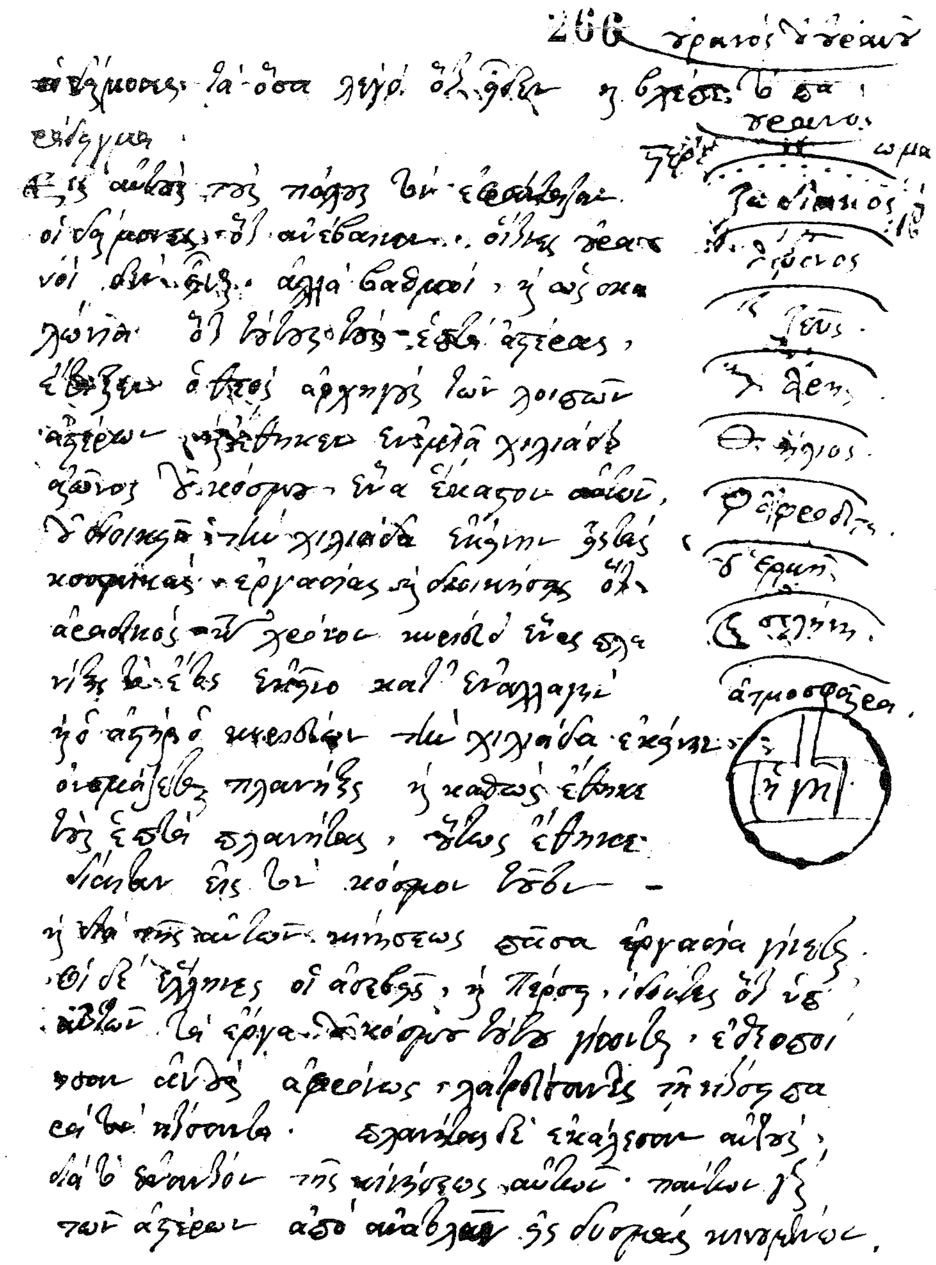
Ἑρμῆ, καὶ ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, εἶτα εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἡλίου, εἶτα εἰς τοῦ Ἄρεως, Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου· ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι ὁ Ζωδιακὸς Πόλος. Καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πόλους ἀναβαίνων, τοῦ ἐφάνταζον || (f. 266r) οἱ δαίμονες τὰ ὅσα λέγει ὅτι εἶδεν. Καὶ βλέπε τὸ παράδειγμα.

Εἰς αὐτοὺς τοὺς πόλους τὸν ἐφάνταζαν οἱ δαίμονες ὅτι ἀνέβαινεν, οἵτινες οὐρανοὶ δὲν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ βαθμοὶ καὶ ὡς σκαλώνια. Ὅτι τούτους τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ἔταξεν ὁ θεὸς ἀρχηγοὺς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μιᾷ χιλιάδι αἰῶνος τοῦ κόσμου ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τοῦ διοικεῖν τὴν χιλιάδα ἐκείνην εἰς τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐργασίας καὶ διοικήσεις. Ὅτι ἀραδικῶς κατὰ χρόνον κυριεύει ἕνας πλανήτης τὸ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο κατ' ἐναλλαγήν. Καὶ ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ κυριεύων τὴν χιλιάδα ἐκείνην ὀνομάζεται πλανήτης. Καὶ καθὼς ἔθηκε τοὺς ἑπτὰ πλανήτας, οὕτως ἔθηκε δίαιταν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον, καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν κινήσεως πᾶσα ἐργασία γίνεται. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ Πέρσαι, ἰδόντες ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου γίνονται, ἐθεοποίησαν αὐτοὺς ἀφρόνως, «λατρεύσαντες τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα». Πλανήτας δὲ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς κινήσεως αὐτῶν. Πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἀστέρων ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῶν εἰς Δυσμὰς κινουμένων, || (f. 266v) οὗτοι ποιοῦσι τὸν δρόμον τους ἀπὸ Δυσμῶν πρὸς Ἀνατολάς. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα εἰσὶ τῶν φυσιολόγων ὑπόθεσις, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ἐπανέλθωμεν.

Λέγομεν οὖν ὅτι ὁ Μωάμεθ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος, ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ πρῶτον, δὲν ἀνέβη, οὔτε τὴν πύλην ποσῶς εἶδεν. Ἀλλὰ φανταστικῶς ἐκ σατανικῆς ἐνεργείας ἡρπάγη, καθὼς ὁ Σίμων ὁ Μάγος εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ὁ Κύνωψ, καὶ ἐκεῖ τοῦ ἔδειξεν ὁ διάβολος τὸν θρόνον του καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις του. Καὶ ὡς ὢν ὅλος ἀκάθαρτος, πορνείας καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας αὐτὸν ἐνέπλησε, καὶ τοῦ ἐσχημάτισε δαίμονας ὡς κοράσια ὡραῖα καὶ παιδία καθὼς ἐπόθει καὶ ὠρέγετο νὰ μολύνεται ὁ παμμίαρος. Διὸ καὶ εὐθέως ὁποῦ κατῆλθεν ἀπὸ τὴν θεωρίαν του, συνουσιάσθη μὲ τὴν ἠγαπημένην του Χαδίγην.

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰσῆλθεν, ὁποῦ τότε ἔλαμπεν ἀπὸ ἱεροὺς ναοὺς καὶ ἐγέμει ἀπὸ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ μονάζοντας. Ἀλλὰ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἀναβιβάσας αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὸ ἅρμα του, ὁποῦ τοῦ ἐφάνη ὡς τερατῶδες ζῶον, οὔτε ὄνος οὔτε μουλάριον ὄν, τὸν ἔφερεν ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ εἶχε τὴν κατοικίαν του, εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους. Καὶ ἐκεῖ || (f. 267r) τοῦ ἐσχημάτισε τὸν βωμόν, ὃν ὕστερον ὁ Ὄμαρ παραχωρήσει θεοῦ ᾠκοδόμησε. Διὰ τοῦτο φλυαροῦσιν ὅτι ἐπάνω εἰς μίαν πέτραν, ὁποῦ ἵσταται ἐπάνω δύο κολώνων κατὰ μέσον τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ φλυαροῦσιν ὅτι νὰ στέκεται εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, μωρολο-

1 εἶτα **2** εἶτα **9** εἰς ἀραδικὸς **10** πλανίτης **21** ἐκεῖνόν ἐκεῖνον **23** εἶδε **32** τερατώδη **33** ὢν **35** παραχωρίση **36** δύω



Codex Athous (Panteleimon), n° 110, f. 266^r

sée par Mahomet et Gabriel lors de leur visite.[80] Mais cette histoire de la pierre suspendue et de l'empreinte des mains n'est pas plus vraie que l'histoire du temple lui-même. Car trois cents ans après qu'Omar eût fait construire le temple, celui-ci fut dédié au culte du pape[81] par les Latins qui occupèrent Jérusalem pour une durée de cent ans.[82] Par conséquent, toutes ces histoires monstrueuses que les musulmans se plaisent à forger ne sont que bavardages et sottises manifestes. Il en est de même de leurs histoires concernant le turban suspendu de Mahomet[83] et son tombeau. Seule l'histoire de la lune en or est véridique. Attirée par un aimant au moyen d'un clou en fer, celle-ci semble suspendue, ainsi que nous allons le voir plus loin.[84]

On sait que la religion de Mahomet commença à se répandre au moyen de guerres et d'effusions de sang. C'est le *cheval verdâtre* qui fut montré à Jean (Ap 6:7-8): sur son dos était assise *la Mort* et le quart de l'humanité fut exterminé par elle, etc.[85] Mais après avoir réussi à répandre sa religion et après avoir vaincu et tué des foules innombrables de païens et de juifs, le débauché Mahomet fut à son tour trompé par une juive nommée Zaïnab dont il avait voulu abuser. Elle lui avait offert à manger une épaule de mouton grillée[86] qui était empoisonnée, car elle savait que cet esclave du ventre était friand des épaules grillées. Ses adeptes racontent bêtement que l'épaule elle-même avait révélé à Mahomet qu'elle était empoisonnée. Si cela était vrai, pourquoi alors l'aurait-il mangée?[87] Lorsque saint Benoît sut que le pain offert par un prêtre indigne qui voulait le faire mourir était empoisonné, il ne le mangea pas.[88] Mais Mahomet, lui, qui n'était pas un vrai prophète mais un imposteur, mangea l'épaule empoisonnée et mourut d'une mort atroce, emporté petit à petit par le poison.

A ses adeptes il avait prescrit le pèlerinage à la Mecque et le sacrifice des moutons.[89] Par la suite, il se rendit chez 'Ā'isha, sa bien-aimée où, malade, il s'alita.[90] Alors qu'il se trouvait au seuil de la mort, il demanda un récipient d'eau, se lava lui-même le visage, puis versa toute cette eau sur son corps.[91] Avant d'expirer, il tomba dans les bras d''Ā'isha[92] et lui demanda un autre récipient pour uriner[93] et c'est ainsi qu'il mourut de manière atroce. 'Ā'isha, sa bien-aimée, avait

γοῦσι δεικνύοντες ἴχνη χειρῶν σκαλιστῶν γεγλυμμένων, ὅτι ὅτε ἦλθεν ὁ Μωάμεθ ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ Γαβριήλ, ἔθεσαν ἐπάνω τὰς χεῖρας των καὶ ἐχαράχθη ἡ πέτρα εἰς σχῆμα χειρός. Ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀληθεύει τὸ ὅτι νὰ ἦτον τότε ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁποῦ οὔτε ἴχνος αὐτοῦ εὑρίσκετο τότε, τόσον ἀληθεύει καὶ τὸ νὰ κρέμαται εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ὁ λίθος καὶ νὰ ἐχαράχθη ἀοράτως. Διότι ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Ὄμαρ ἀνήγειρε τὸν βωμὸν ἐκεῖνον, μετὰ τετρακοσίους χρόνους ἐκυρίευσαν οἱ Λατῖνοι τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐποίησαν βωμὸν τοῦ πάπα, καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν χρόνους σχεδὸν ἑκατόν. Ὥστε ὅλα τὰ τερατώδη ὁποῦ φαντασιοκοποῦσιν οἱ Μωαμεθῖται εἶναι φλυαρίαις καὶ μωρολογίαις προφανεῖς. Καθὼς καὶ περὶ τοῦ φακεολίου τοῦ Μωάμεθ μωρολογοῦσιν ὅτι κρέμαται εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἐπάνω, ‖ (f. 267v) ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ τάφος του, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι γελοιώδη. Ἀληθεύει ὅμως περὶ τῆς χρυσῆς σελήνης ἥτις, τραβιζομένη ὑπὸ μαγνήτου διὰ τοῦ σιδηροῦ καρφίου, φαίνεται ὅτι κρέμαται εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, ὡς ἔμπροσθεν θέλομεν εἰπῇ.

Γνωστὸν εἶναι ὅτι τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Μωάμεθ μὲ πολέμους καὶ αἱματεκχυσίας ἄρχισε, διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τετράμορφον ἔδειξεν εἰς τὸν θεολόγον Ἰωάννην τὸν πράσινον ἵππον καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐπάνω καθήμενον, ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου ἐφονεύθη τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς καὶ λοιπά. Ἀλλ' ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἀφ' οὗ ἠνδραγάθησε καὶ ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐφόνευσε πλήθη ἄπειρα ἐθνικῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων, τέλος ἠπατήθη ἀπὸ μίαν Ἑβραίαν, Ζενεβᾶ καλουμένην, τὴν ὁποίαν ὡς ἀκόλαστος ἔφθειρε, καὶ ὡς κοιλιόδουλος φαγὼν ἀπὸ ἕνα πλάτην προβάτου ἐψημένον ὁποῦ τοῦ ἐπρόσφερε, ἠξεύρουσα πῶς ἠγάπα τὰς ἐψημένας πλάτας, τὸν ὁποῖον πλάτην κατεσκεύασε μὲ φαρμάκι. Μὲ ὅλον ὁποῦ οἱ ὀπαδοί του μωρολογοῦσιν ὅτι ὁ ἴδιος ὁ πλάτης τοῦ ἐφανέρωσεν ὅτι ἦτον φαρμακωμένος. Τὸ ὁποῖον ἐὰν ἀλήθευε, δὲν ἤθελε φάγῃ ‖ (f. 268r) βέβαια, καθὼς ὁ ὅσιος Βενέδικτος ἐγνώρισε τὸν φαρμακωμένον ἄρτον ὁποῦ τοῦ ἐπρόσφερεν ὁ ἀνίερος ἐκεῖνος ἱερεὺς διὰ νὰ τὸν θανατώσῃ, καὶ γνωρίσας ὁ ὅσιος τὸν δόλον δὲν ἔφαγεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ Μωάμεθ, ὡς μὴ ὢν ἀληθινὸς προφήτης ἀλλ' ἀπατεών, φαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ φαρμακωμένου κρέατος, καταδαμασθεὶς κατ' ὀλίγον ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τὸ φαρμάκι, κακῶς ἐξέψυξεν.

Ἐδιαλάλησεν ὅμως εἰς ὅσους ἐδέχθησαν τὴν θρησκείαν του νὰ ἔχουν χρέος νὰ πηγαίνουν νὰ προσκυνοῦν εἰς τὴν Μέκκαν νὰ θυσιάζουσι πρόβατα. Ἔπειτα ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῆς ἠγαπημένης του Αἴσσας καὶ ἐκείτετο ἄρρωστος. Ὄντας δὲ εἰς τὰ λοίσθια τοῦ θανάτου, ἐζήτησεν ἕνα ἀγγεῖον μὲ νερόν, καὶ μὲ τὸ ἴδιόν του χέρι ἔπλυνε τὸ πρόσωπόν του, ἔπειτα τὸ νερὸν ἔχυσεν ἐπάνω του. Ὕστερον ψυχομαχῶντας ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας της καὶ τῆς ἐζήτησεν ἀγγεῖον νὰ κατουρήσῃ καὶ οὕτω κακῶς ἐξέψυξεν. Ἀληθὲς

7 Λατίνοι **16** ἄρχησε **28** ὢν ἀληθηνὸς **29** ἀπαταιών **30** φαρμάκη **33** Αἶσσας **34** ὀλίσθια **37** κατουρίση

dit très justement: «Je ne saurais être impressionnée par la mort de quiconque, aussi pénible et tourmentée qu'elle soit, après avoir assisté à la mort atroce, douloureuse et effroyable que Mahomet a connue et endurée».[94]

Ces propos montrent combien douloureuse et amère fut la mort de cet imposteur et ennemi de Dieu. Où était alors Gabriel que Mahomet prétendait avoir toujours à ses côtés? Il aurait dû non seulement lui venir en aide pour qu'il puisse rendre son âme dans la sérénité et la paix, mais encore le transporter au ciel avec son corps, comme ce fut le cas pour Énoch et Élie. Du moins, Mahomet aurait-il dû rendre son âme dans la prière comme tous les saints. Or il rendit son âme infâme abandonné dans les bras d'une impudique; il mourut de manière douloureuse, atroce et tourmentée, montrant de la sotre qu'il avait attiré sur lui la colère de Dieu plus que tout autre homme au monde, ainsi que le dit Jacques le martyr.[95] En effet, Mahomet blasphémait contre Dieu lorsqu'il prétendait qu'il s'entretenait avec lui librement, qu'il recevait les lois directement de la bouche du Très-Haut et que le Coran lui était donné du ciel. En vérité, ce qu'il appelait Dieu, n'était autre que le rebelle Lucifer. C'est pourquoi il le présentait sous forme d'une sphère[96] et niait l'existence du Fils de Dieu auquel nous croyons, nous chrétiens.[97]

Pour mieux faire apparaître cette imposture démoniaque, nous ajoutons encore ceci. Mahomet dit que la demeure d'Adam se trouve dans le ciel de la lune. Puis, en proposant quelques lois pour appâter les gens, il prétend avoir vu là-haut les âmes des sauvés et des damnés. Les uns avaient le corps qui sentait la pourriture, et c'étaient les fornicateurs et les adultères. Mais Mahomet est le premier des fornicateurs et des adultères. Les autres avalaient des cailloux ardents sortant de leurs organes génitaux, et c'étaient les ravisseurs des biens des pauvres et des orphelins. Or Mahomet s'était enrichi au moyen de guerres incessantes en temps de paix, au moyen de meurtres, de rapts et d'injustices, et avait enseigné la même conduite à ses fidèles. D'autres se déchiraient la chair de leurs propres ongles et mugissaient, et c'étaient les calomniateurs. Mais c'est lui, Mahomet, qui fut le calomniateur de Dieu, notre Sauveur. Il dit encore y avoir vu les usuriers qui avaient des ventres démesurément gonflés.[98] Par tous ces bavardages, Mahomet avait voulu réfuter l'enseignement de l'Évangile concernant le fleuve de flammes, les ténèbres de l'enfer et le feu éternel.

Il relégua Jésus, le Dieu-fait-homme, au second ciel et plaça Joseph le très beau au troisième ciel, plus haut que Jésus! Au quatrième ciel il mit Énoch, au cinquième Aaron, au sixième Moïse et au septième Abraham. Voyez à quel degré il met le Fils de Dieu, celui qui avait dit: «Nul n'est monté au ciel, hormis celui qui

ὅμως εἶναι αὐτὸ ὁποῦ εἶπεν αὐτὴ ἡ ἀγαπητική του Αἴσσα, ὅτι· «Οὐδέποτε θέλω θαυμάσῃ διὰ τὸν θάνατον κανενὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ ἤθελεν εἶναι σκληρὸς ‖ (f. 268ᵛ) καὶ βασανιστικός, βλέπωντας τὸν σκληρὸν θάνατον καὶ πικρὸν καὶ φοβερὸν ὁποῦ ὑπόφερε καὶ ἐδοκίμασεν ὁ Μωάμεθ.

Ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων φαίνεται ὁποῖον ἐπώδυνον καὶ πικρὸν θάνατον ἐδοκίμασεν ὁ πλάνος οὗτος καὶ ἀντίθεος Μωάμεθ. Ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἦτον τότε ὁ Γαβριὴλ ὁποῦ εἶχε πάντοτε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἔλεγε; Ὁποῦ ἔπρεπεν οὐχὶ μόνον μετὰ ἀνέσεως καὶ εἰρήνης νὰ παραδώσῃ τὴν ψυχήν του, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα καὶ νὰ τὸν μεταστήσῃ σύσσωμον ὡς τὸν Ἐνὼχ καὶ Ἠλίαν, ἢ προσευχόμενος κἂν νὰ παραδώσῃ τὴν ψυχήν του καθὼς οἱ δίκαιοι καὶ ἅγιοι; Ἀλλὰ τί; Εἰς τὴν ἀγκάλην τῆς πόρνης παρέδωκε τὴν μιαράν του ψυχήν, καὶ ταῦτα πολυωδύνως, τρομερῶς, μὲ πολλὴν βάσανον, δεικνύων τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁποῦ εἶχε πρὸς αὐτόν. Τὸν ὁποῖον παρώργισεν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ὁσιομάρτυς Ἰάκωβος. Καὶ οὐχὶ καθὼς ἐβλασφήμει ὅτι ἤρχετο μετὰ παρρησίας καὶ συνωμίλει μὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐδέχετο τοὺς νόμους διὰ στόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ὑψίστου καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν τοῦ ἐ‖(f. 269ʳ)δόθη τὸ Ἀλκοράνιον. Ἔλεγεν ὅμως θεὸν τὸν ἀντάρτην ἑωσφόρον διάβολον, τὸν ὁποῖον ὡς ὁλόσφαιρον ἐδογμάτιζε· καὶ δὲν εἶχε υἱόν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ λέγομεν.

Καὶ βλέπε ἀπάτην διαβόλου· πῶς εἰς μὲν τὸν σεληνιακὸν οὐρανὸν ἔδειξε τὴν κατοίκησιν τοῦ Ἀδάμ. Καὶ βάνωντας ὡς δέλεαρ μερικὰς νομοθεσίας, ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἶδεν ἐκεῖ τῶν σωζομένων καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν τὰς ψυχάς. Καὶ ἄλλους μὲν μυρίζονταν τὸ κρέας σεσηπός, μὲ τοὺς ὁποίους παρείκασε τοὺς πόρνους καὶ μοιχούς· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἦτον ὁ πρῶτος μοιχὸς καὶ πόρνος. Καὶ ἄλλους ὁποῦ ἔρριπταν μέσα τους πέτρας καμμένας, εὐγαλμένας ἀπὸ τὰ παιδογόνα μόρια, μὲ τοὺς ὁποίους ἐπαράσταινε τοὺς ἁρπάζωντας τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲ τοὺς ἀκαταπαύστους πολέμους καὶ μάχας ἐν καιρῷ εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ διδάσκων τοὺς ὀπαδούςτου, μὲ φόνους καὶ ἁρπαγὰς καὶ ἀδικίας ἐπλούτει. Ἄλλους δὲ ὁποῦ ἐξεσχίζοντο μὲ τὰ ὀνύχιά των καὶ ἔβρυχον, καὶ νὰ ἦσαν οἱ συκοφάνται· ὁ συκοφάντης τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Καὶ τοὺς τοκεῖς μὲ κοιλίας ὑπερμέτρους, φλυαρῶντας, ‖ (f. 269ᵛ) θέλων ἀναιρέσαι τὸν πύρινον ποταμόν, τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ, καὶ τὰ ὅσα διδάσκει τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον.

Ἔπειτα εἰς τὸν δεύτερον βαθμὸν κατεδίκασε τὸν θεάνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν, κατωτέρω τοῦ παγκάλου Ἰωσήφ, τὸν ὁποῖον Ἰωσὴφ εἶδεν εἰς τὸν τρίτον οὐρανόν· εἰς δὲ τὸν δ' τὸν Ἐνώχ, καὶ ε' τὸν Ἀαρών, ϛ' τὸν Μωϋσῆν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ζ' τὸν Ἀβραάμ. Βλέπε εἰς ποῖον βαθμὸν θέλει τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν

2 θαυμάσει **7** ἑ-αυτοῦ **10** παραδόσῃ **12** πολυοδύνως **13** παρώργησε **15** συνομίλει **18** ὁλόσφερον **23** σεσηπώς **35** κατώτερου **37** Ἀβραὰμ

est descendu du ciel» (Jn 3:13), et qui demeure au ciel éternellement, inséparable du Père et de l'Esprit. Quelle doctrine impie! Et dire qu'il y a des gens qui prétendent que Mahomet n'est pas l'Antéchrist![99] Lui qui dit que Dieu a la forme d'une sphère, doctrine que les empereurs orthodoxes avaient fait condamner par un synode;[100] lui qui à la place du Dieu Tout-Puissant et Très-Haut met le diable apostat et rebelle! Que Dieu nous garde!

Que Dieu ait trois hypostases et qu'il soit un et inaltérable depuis le commencement des siècles, il serait facile de le comprendre à l'aide du schéma ci-contre.[101] Le mystère de la Sainte-Trinité demeurait caché et ne s'était révélé ni aux justes d'avant la loi ni à ceux qui avaient vécu après la loi. Néanmoins le Dieu trine s'était révélé à Abraham et les trois hypostases de la divinité étaient apparues peintes dans la fournaise. Puis, à la fin des temps, la Sainte-Trinité se manifesta en toute clarté à travers l'incarnation du Fils, ainsi que nous le montre le triangle dessiné ci-contre. En passant de la première à la seconde et de la seconde à la troisième ligne triangulaire, nous avons trois triangles qui ne font qu'un, et la quatrième ligne triangulaire les englobe tous les trois. D'autre part, l'homme créé à l'image de Dieu, est doté d'intelligence, de parole et d'esprit. Les arbres également sont constitués des racines, leur principe premier, du tronc et des branches. Au printemps poussent d'abord les fleurs, puis les feuilles et en troisième lieu les fruits. Enfin, les animaux sont constitués premièrement de peau, deuxièmement de chair et troisièmement d'organes intérieurs. Bref, toutes les créatures de Dieu révèlent les trois hypostases de la divinité et leur union inaltérable.

Des femmes de Mahomet

Selon l'opinion communément admise, Mahomet avait vingt-six femmes et quatre concubines.[102] Il répudia cinq de ses femmes de son vivant. Cinq autres moururent, de son vivant également. Les autres lui survécurent. Sa première femme fut Khadîdja à laquelle il donna quatre garçons morts en bas âge et quatre filles qui se marièrent. Fatima était sa préférée. Elle épousa 'Alî.[103] C'est sa culotte que les musulmans vénèrent. Fatima occupe chez eux la place que tient chez les chrétiens la mère de Dieu.[104] Ils l'appellent madone et la considèrent comme la meilleure d'entre toutes les femmes. Après Khadîdja, Mahomet épousa 'Ā'îsha, la femme qu'il aima le plus et qui fut son plaisir et sa délectation par excellence. Au moment de mourir, il réunit toutes ses femmes et leur demanda avec

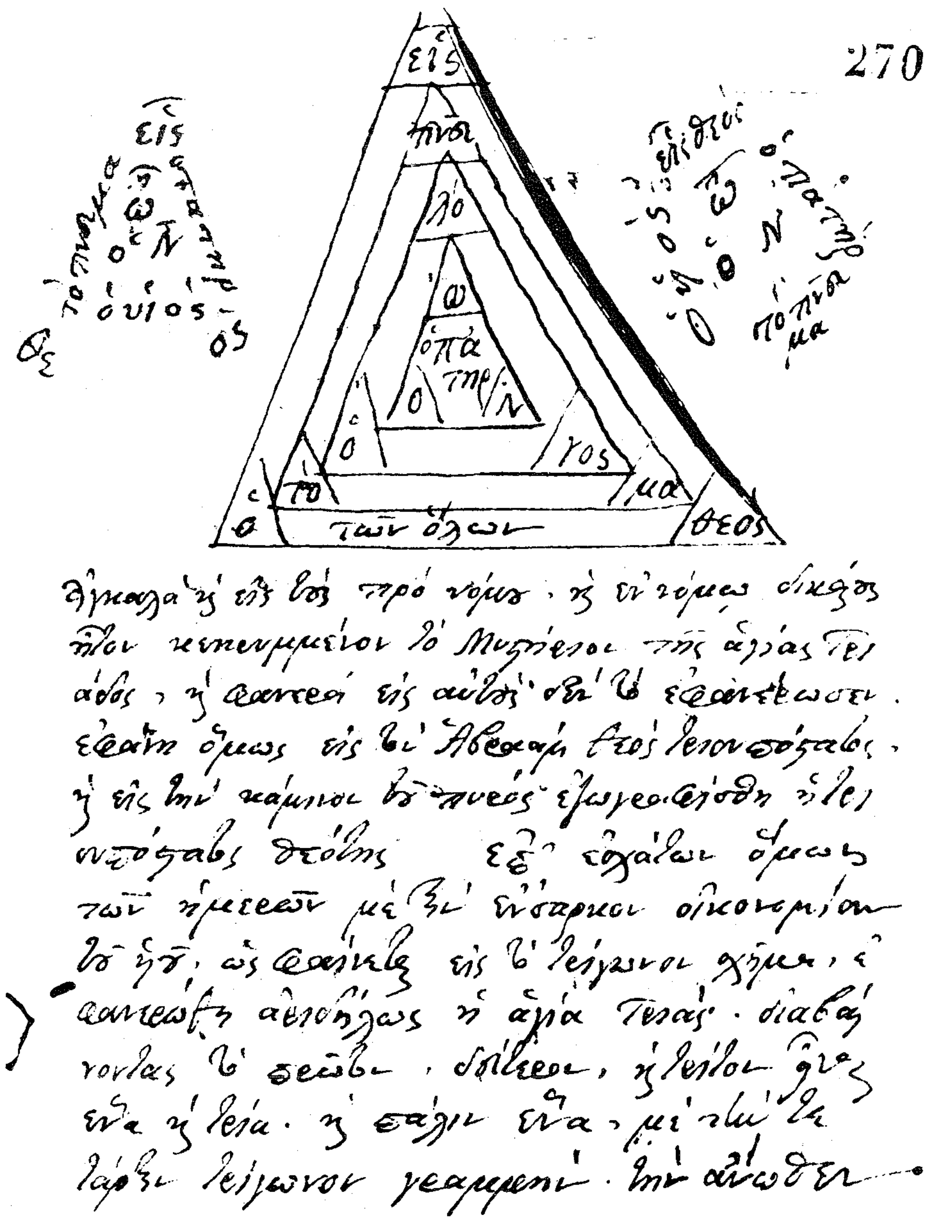
λέγοντα· «Οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἰμὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς», καὶ ὢν ἀεὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀχωρίστως τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι. Βλέπεις ἀντιθεΐαν; Καὶ δὲν εἶναι, λέγουσί τινες, ὁ Ἀντίχριστος οὗτος; Τὸν λέγοντα ὁλόσφαιρον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, τὸν ὁποῖον διὰ Συνόδου οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι βασιλεῖς ἀναθέματι παρέδωκαν, ὡς τὸν διάβολον σχηματίζοντα θεόν, τὸν ἀντάρτην καὶ ἀποστάτην, καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν παντοδύναμον ὕψιστον θεόν. Μὴ γένοιτο!

Ὅτι δὲ ὁ θεός ἐστι τρισυπόστατος, ἰδοὺ μὲ τὸ παρὸν τρίγωνον ὑπόδειγμα παρασταινόμενον ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἦτον εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός. ‖ (f. 270r) Ἀγκαλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς πρὸ νόμου καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δικαίους ἦτον κεκρυμμένον τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος καὶ φανερὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς δὲν τὸ ἐφανέρωσεν, ἐφάνη ὅμως εἰς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ θεὸς τρισυπόστατος, καὶ εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς ἐζωγραφίσθη ἡ τρισυπόστατος θεότης. Ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ὅμως τῶν ἡμερῶν, μὲ τὴν ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς φαίνεται εἰς τὸ τρίγωνον σχῆμα, ἐφανερώθη ἀριδήλως ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς. Διαβαίνωντας τὸ πρῶτον, δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον εἶναι ἕνα καὶ τρία· καὶ πάλιν ἕνα μὲ τὴν τετάρτην τρίγωνον γραμμήν, τὴν ἄνωθεν. ‖ (f. 270v) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔχει νοῦν, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα, ὡς κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ πλασθείς. Καὶ τὰ δένδρη ἔχουν τὴν ρίζαν πρῶτον αἴτιον, δεύτερον τὸ κορμὶ τοῦ στελέχου ἢ ὄρπηγος, καὶ τρίτον τοὺς καρπούς. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ ζῶα πρῶτον ἔχουσι τὸ δέρμα, δεύτερον κρέας τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τρίτον ἐνδόσθια. Καὶ ὅλα τὰ ποιήματα τοῦ θεοῦ δεικνύουσι τὸ τρισυπόστατον τῆς θεότητος καὶ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς τριφαοῦς θεότητος.

Περὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ Μωάμεθ

Κατὰ κοινὴν γνώμην ὁ Μωάμεθ εἶχε γυναῖκας 26 καὶ τέσσαρας παλλακίδας· πέντε ἀπὸ αὐτὰς ἐξεχώρισε ζῶντος του καὶ πέντε ἀπέθανον ζῶντος του· αἱ λοιπαὶ ἔμειναν μετὰ τὸν θάνατόν του. Πρώτην ἔλαβε τὴν Χαδίγην μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν ἔκαμε τέσσερα ἀρσενικὰ παιδιὰ καὶ ἀπέθανον νέα· καὶ τέσσαρας θυγατέρας ὁποῦ ὑπανδρεύθησαν. Ἡ Φατμὲ ἦτον ἡ πολλὰ ἠγαπημένη του ὁποῦ ἔλαβε τὸν Ἀλῆ· καὶ αὐτῆς τὸ βρακὶ προσκυνοῦν οἱ Ἀγαρηνοὶ καὶ τὴν ἔχουν καθὼς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ‖ (f. 271r) τὴν Κυρίαν Θεοτόκον· τὴν λέγουσι δέσποιναν καὶ κυρίαν ὅλων τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἐξαίρετον πασῶν. Εἶχε μετὰ τὴν Χαδίγην τὴν Αἶσσαν πλέον ἠγαπημένην του, ἡ ὁποία ἦτον ἡ ἐξαίρετος ἡδονή του καὶ ἀγαλλίασις. Ὅταν ἦλθεν εἰς

4 ὁλόσφερον **9** παραστενόμενον **12** Ἀβραὰμ **15** διαβαίνοντας **19** ὄρπυγος **25** παλακίδας



Codex Athous (Panteleimon), nº 110, f. 270r

laquelle il devait partager ses dernières nuits. Elles lui répondirent que la demeure de ses plaisirs, 'Ā'īsha, l'attendait. Il se conforma à leur avis avec grande satisfaction.[105] C'est dans les bras de celle-ci qu'il rendit l'âme de manière atroce et douloureurse, châtié par Dieu.

Des temples de la Mecque et de Médine

Nous empruntons ces renseignements à l'histoire d'un voyageur qui a vu de ses propres yeux le tombeau et le temple de Mahomet. Ce voyageur s'appelle Gabriel Brémond[106] et est originaire de Marseille, en Europe. Il écrit que le temple de Médine est construit sur le modèle de celui de Jérusalem. Il n'est pas aussi beau, mais il est très luxueux, couvert de marbres sélectionnés, verts, blancs et bleus et incrusté de nombreuses agates. À plusieurs endroits, il est revêtu de plaques d'or et d'argent, notamment aux endroits les plus en vue. On dit qu'il y a vingt mille cierges que les pèlerins allument à leur arrivée, ainsi que de nombreux vases précieux dans lesquels ils brûlent des encens aromatisés. Le tombeau de Mahomet est construit en forme de tourelle ronde (minaret), comme une chapelle à dôme, qu'ils appellent *tourbé*. La partie supérieure de la tourelle est ouverte. Le dôme repose sur des colonnes. Sur le pourtour le tombeau ressemble aux minarets. De tous les côtés, il y a de nombreuses fenêtres avec des grillages en argent. Le sol est recouvert d'or et de pierres précieuses. Du côté où se trouve la tête surtout, les pierres, offertes de tout temps par les sultans turcs, sont d'une grande valeur. La porte qui donne sur l'extérieur et celle qui conduit au dôme sont en argent. Les pèlerins ne peuvent visiter le tombeau que s'ils font l'offrande d'une clé en or (des pièces d'or). Cependant, ceux qui restent à Médine après le départ des pèlerins peuvent entrer et voir le tombeau sans payer. Le tombeau lui-même est construit de pierres précieuses de toutes sortes et recouvert de plaques de marbre sélectionnées et très fines. Situé au milieu de la tourelle, il est long de six pieds et large de quatre pieds. Du côté où se trouve la tête, il y a une colonne de marbre blanc sculpté, sur laquelle se trouve placé un reliquaire de couleur verte. Du côté où se trouvent les pieds, il y a une autre colonne semblable sur laquelle brûlent des encens parfumés, du baume, des parfums et du bois d'aloès. Au milieu de la

τὸν θάνατον, ἐσύναξεν ὅλας του τὰς γυναῖκας νὰ τοῦ διορίσουν μὲ ποίαν νὰ κοιμηθῇ τὸ ὕστερόν του, καὶ τοῦ ἀπεκρίθησαν ὅτι τὸν ἀκαρτερεῖ ὁ οἶκος τῶν ἡδονῶν του, ἡ Αἶσσα, καὶ τὸ ἔκαμεν μὲ μεγάλην του εὐχαρίστησιν. Εἰς τῆς ὁποίας τὴν ἀγκάλην ἐψυχορράγησεν ἐλεεινῶς μὲ πολυώδυνον θάνατον θεοῦ παιδεύσει.

Περὶ τῶν ναῶν Μέκκας καὶ Μεδινέ

Ἐξ ἱστορίας περιηγητοῦ τινος ὁποῦ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς εἶδε τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν τάφον του λέγομεν. Λέγει λοιπὸν οὗτος, Γαβριὴλ Βρεμὼνδ καλούμενος ἐξ εὐρωπαϊκῆς Μαρσίλιας, ὅτι ὁ ναὸς τῆς Μεδίμνης εἶναι κατασκευασμένος ὡσὰν ἐκεῖνον τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Οὐχὶ τόσον ὡραῖος ἀλλὰ πλουσιώτατος, ὅλος σκεπασμένος μὲ μάρμαρα ἐκλεκτά, πράσινα, διάσπρα καὶ γαλάζια πολύτιμα, καὶ μὲ πλῆθος ἀγάθης. Εἰς πολλὰ δὲ μέρη εἶναι πλάκες χρυσαὶ καὶ ἀργυραί, μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς ἐξαιρέτους τόπους τοῦ ναοῦ. ‖ (f. 271^{v}) Λέγουσι νὰ εὑρίσκωνται εἴκοσι χιλιάδες λαμπάδες καὶ τὰς ἀνάπτουν ὅταν φθάσουν ἐκεῖ οἱ προσκυνηταί. Καὶ ἀγγεῖα πολλὰ πολύτιμα εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα καίουσι τὰ ἀρωματικὰ θυμιάματα. Ὁ τάφος τοῦ Μωάμεθ εἶναι κατασκευασμένος εἰς σχῆμα ἑνὸς μικροῦ πύργου στρογγυλοῦ (μηναρέ), ὡσὰν ἕνα παρακκλῆσι θολογυρισμένον, τὸ ὁποῖον καλοῦσι *τουρμπέ*. Ἀπὸ τὸ μέσον πρὸς τὰ ἄνω εἶναι ἀνοικτὸς καὶ ὁ θόλος ἀφίσταται ἐπάνω εἰς στύλους, καὶ ὁλόγυρα εἶναι κατασκευασμένος ὡσὰν οἱ μηναρέδες. Ὁ τοῖχος ἀπὸ κάθε μέρος ἔχει πλῆθος παράθυρα μὲ καφάσια ἀσημένια. Τὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ τάφου εἶναι στρωμένον μὲ χρυσάφι καὶ πολυτίμους λίθους. Μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ μνήματος εἶναι ἀξιοτίμητοι λίθοι ὁποὺ στέλλουσιν ἀπὸ τόσους αἰῶνας οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Τουρκῶν. Ἡ θύρα ἀργυρά, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας εὐγαίνουν εἰς τὰ περίχειλα τοῦ πύργου μηναρέ. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκείνη τοῦ θόλου. Οἱ προσκυνηταὶ δὲν βλέπουν τὸ μνῆμα, ἂν ἴσως δὲν προσφέρουν κλειδίον χρυσοῦν (χρυσά). Ἐκεῖνοι ὅμως ὁποῦ μείνουν εἰς τὴν Μεδίνην μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν προσκυνητῶν, ἐμβαίνουν ἀδωροδοκήτως καὶ τὸ βλέπουν. Λοιπὸν ‖ (f. 272^{r}) τὸ μνῆμα αὐτὸ εἶναι κατασκευασμένον ἀπὸ λίθους ποικίλους, ἐνδεδυμένον μὲ λεπτότατα ἐκλεκτὰ μάρμαρα, θεμένον εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ πύργου. Εἶναι ἕξη πόδας μῆκος καὶ τέσσαρας πλάτος. Πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἕναν στύλον μάρμαρον ἄσπρον, σκαλιστὸν, καὶ ἐπάνω εἶναι τὸ καβούκιόν του πράσινον. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πόδας του εἶναι ἄλλος ὅμοιος στύλος, ἐπάνω τοῦ ὁποίου καίουσι παντοτινὰ θυμιάματα, βάλσαμα, μύρα καὶ ἀλόης ξύλον. Ἐπάνω τοῦ μνήματος εἰς τὴν

11 πράσυνα **14** εὑρίσκονται **21** ἀσιμένια **26** ἀνίσως **28** ἀδωροδοκίτως **35** μῦρα ἀλώης

tombe, il y a une ouverture couverte d'une plaque de marbre. En soulevant cette dernière et en regardant à l'intérieur à l'aide d'une bougie, on peut voir le crâne de Mahomet, desséché, avec quatre dents à la mâchoire, les os d'un pied et la colonne vertébrale avec les côtes détachées. C'est tout ce qui reste de la dépouille de Mahomet. Tout autour de la tombe il y a des cierges en argent qui brûlent sans cesse. Sur la tombe, on dresse chaque année une nouvelle tente, tandis que l'ancienne est envoyée comme présent au sultan de Constantinople. Au mur sud du tombeau, près de la colonne qui soutient la chaire, se trouve placée une pierre carrée, un aimant. Sa longueur et sa largeur font deux pieds et son épaisseur deux pouces. Elle est retenue par quatre anses en argent. En dessous il y a un Croissant en or, orienté vers l'aimant et portant en son milieu un clou en fer de l'épaisseur d'un doigt. Sous l'effet de l'attraction produite par l'aimant, le clou maintient le croissant de lune suspendu au-dessus du tombeau. La lune est parée de tous côtés de pierres précieuses. Voilà donc en quoi consiste le fameux miracle du tombeau de Mahomet, devant lequel s'extasient les pieux musulmans, dépourvus d'intelligence. Certains d'entre eux, après avoir vu ce miracle, se crèvent les yeux pour ne plus voir autre chose. Voilà pour ce qui concerne Médine.

La Mecque, ville natale de Mahomet, es' vénérée pour son temple, la *Ka'ba* (carré), appelé aussi *Bat al-Allah*, c'est-à-dire la demeure de Dieu. Les musulmans croient que ce temple fut construit par Abraham et qu'il est supérieur à celui de Salomon. À l'entrée du temple, près de la porte, on voit une pierre noire aussi grande que la tête d'un homme. Ils disent que cette pierre est tombée du ciel et que, blanche à l'origine, elle s'est noircie à cause des péchés des hommes. Ils disent aussi que, pendant la construction du temple, Abraham montait sur cette pierre pour voir si les murs n'avaient pas quelque trou. Quiconque réussit le premier à embrasser cette pierre au moment de la prière le premier vendredi du pèlerinage, est considéré par les musulmans comme un saint et ils lui baisent les pieds. Mais emportés par leur élan, ils marchent sur lui et le tuent en le piétinant.

Le temple a quinze coudes de longueur, douze coudes de largeur et cinq coudes de hauteur. La hauteur de la porte est telle qu'un homme peut l'atteindre en levant le bras. Elle est haute d'un coude et demi et large d'un coude. Près de l'angle gauche du temple, du côté nord, les portes sont en argent et on y accède à

μέσην εὑρίσκεται μία τρύπα σκεπασμένη μὲ μάρμαρον. Καὶ σηκώνωντάς το καὶ βάνωντας μέσα λαμπάδα ἀναμμένην, φαίνεται τὸ κρανίον ξηρὸν μὲ τέσσαρα δόντια, τὰ κόκκαλα ἑνὸς ποδός, καὶ μέρος ἀπὸ τὴν ράχην μὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ξεχωριστὰ ἀπὸ τὴν κεφαλήν. Καὶ αὐτὸ εἶναι ἐπίλοιπον λείψανον τοῦ Μωάμεθ. Ὁλόγυρα τοῦ τάφου εὑρίσκονται πολλαὶ λαμπάδες ἀσημένιαις, ἀναμμέναις πάντοτε. Ἐπάνω τοῦ τάφου σταίνουσι τένταν κάθε χρόνον ἀπὸ Δαμασκὸν φερομένην, τὴν δὲ παλαιὰν στέλνουσι δῶρον τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἀπὸ τὸ μεσημβρινὸν μέρος τοῦ τάφου, εἰς τὸν τοῖχον κάτωθεν τοῦ ἄμβωνος ὁποῦ εὐγαίνει πρὸς τὰ ἔξω καὶ εἶναι ἡ κολώνα ὁποῦ βαστᾶ τὸν ἄμβωνα, εὑρίσκεται μία πέτρα, μαγνήτης τετράγωνος, δύο πόδας τὸ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος, καὶ χονδρὴ δύο δάκτυλα μεγάλα, ‖ (f. 272v) ὁ ὁποῖος συνέχεται ἀπὸ τέσσαρα χερούλια ἀσημένια. Ὑπὸ κάτω τοῦ μαγνήτου φαίνεται μία μισὴ σελήνη χρυσή, βλέπουσα πρὸς τὸν μαγνήτην πρὸς τὰ ἄνω. Εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς σελήνης εἶναι ἕνα καρφὶ σιδηρόν, χοντρὸν ὡς ἕνα δάκτυλον, τὸ ὁποῖον, τραβιζόμενον ἀπὸ τὸν μαγνήτην, βαστᾶ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα τὴν χρυσὴν σελήνην ὁποῦ κρέμεται ἀνάμεσα τοῦ μαγνήτου καὶ τοῦ τάφου. Εἶναι στολισμένη γύρωθεν μὲ λίθους πολυτίμους. Καὶ αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ ἐξακουσμένον θαῦμα τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Μωάμεθ, ὁποῦ κάμνει τοὺς μωροὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐκστατικούς, ὁποῦ μερικοί, ἀφ' οὗ ἰδοῦσιν αὐτά, τυφλώνονται μόνοι τους, διὰ νὰ μὴν ἰδοῦν ἄλλα πράγματα. Καὶ αὐτὰ εἶναι τοῦ Μεδινέ.

Ἡ δὲ Μέκκα, πατρὶς τοῦ Μωάμεθ, τιμᾶται διὰ τὸν ναόν, Καάβη καλούμενον (τετράγωνος) καὶ Μπέιτ Ἀλλάχ, ἤτοι οἶκος θεοῦ. Πιστεύουσιν ὅτι ᾠκοδομήθη ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τιμιώτερος τοῦ Σολομωντείου. Εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τούτου τοῦ ναοῦ, πλησίον τῆς πόρτας, φαίνεται μία πέτρα μαύρη, μεγάλη ὡσὰν κεφαλὴ ἀνθρώπου. Καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι νὰ ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἦτον ἄσπρη, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐμαύρωσε. Λέγουσιν ὅτι ὅταν ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἔκτιζε τοῦτον τὸν ναόν, ἐστέκετο ἐπάνω αὐτῆς τῆς πέτρας ἀναβαίνων καὶ καταβαίνων διὰ ‖ (f. 273r) νὰ μὴν ἀφήσῃ εἰς τὸν τοῖχον καμμίαν τρύπαν. Ὅποιος δὲ ἤθελεν ἀσπασθῇ πρῶτος τὴν πέτραν εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν πρώτην Παρασκευὴν ὁποῦ εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὴν Μέκκαν, τὸν ἔχουσι διὰ ἅγιον καὶ φιλοῦσι τοὺς πόδας του· ὥστε ὁποῦ ἐκ τῆς ὁρμῆς τὸν καταπατοῦσι καὶ τὸν θανατώνουσι.

Τοῦτος ὁ ναὸς εἶναι τὸ μάκρος 15 πήχαις καὶ δώδεκα τὸ πλάτος καὶ πέντε τὸ ὕψος. Ἡ θύρα ὑψηλὴ ὅσον δύναται ἕνας ἄνθρωπος νὰ τὴν φθάσῃ μὲ τὸ χέρι. Τὸ ὕψος της μία καὶ μισὴ πήχη, τὸ πλάτος μία. Σιμὰ εἰς τὴν ἀγκωνὴν τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς Βορρᾶν, αἱ θύραις της ἀργυραὶ καὶ ἀ-

1 συκώνοντάς **5** ἀσιμένιαις **6** ἀναμέναις **9** κολῶνα **10, 13, 15, 16** μαγνίτης, μαγνίτου, μαγνίτην **12** ἀσιμένια **23** αλὰχ **24** Ἁβραὰμ Σολομωντίου **28** Ἁβραὰμ **36** συμμὰ **37** Βορρὰν

l'aide d'un escalier. Le temple est couvert d'un toit qui repose sur trois colonnes octogonales, faites de bois aromatiques d'aloès. Elles ont l'épaisseur d'un homme et une hauteur de trois coudes et demi. À l'intérieur, le temple est revêtu de soie rouge et blanche sur laquelle on a écrit en caractères arabes dorés la profession de foi des musulmans, à savoir «La elah, alla Allah, Mohamet ressoul Allah», ce qui veut dire: «Il n'y a qu'un Dieu, le Dieu unique, et Mahomet est le prophète de Dieu». Ce temple est situé au milieu de la ville; il est entouré d'un mur carré et occupe un très grand espace. Il est couvert d'un très beau toit voûté en forme d'arcades. L'espace autour du temple est appelé *harem*. On y voit trois rangées de colonnes et quatre arcades accolées au mur et destinées aux quatre sectes musulmanes. Sous les arcades se trouve l'autel de prière des émirs. Toutes les arcades donnent sur le temple. Celui-ci est cerclé de deux cordons en or, l'un au-dessus de l'autre. Les tuiles sont en or. Le toit s'avance de tous les côtés d'un coude environ. On dit aussi que les tuiles sont en argent. Le temple est très riche et il possède des ornements qu'offrent depuis toujours les chefs musulmans. Dans le temple, on n'y entre que quatre fois par an, pendant le ramadan, pour bien le nettoyer et le laver à l'eau de rose. Ce temple est vénéré comme le saint des saints. Cependant, si l'on peut offrir une somme de cent florins, on trouve le moyen d'y entrer à un autre moment de l'année également.

Nous avons emprunté ces renseignements à un historien digne de foi qui, se faisant passer pour un musulman, séjourna sur les lieux et put les voir de ses propres yeux. Que tout homme intelligent comprenne l'erreur de l'imposteur et antichrist Mahomet!

Grâce soit rendue à Dieu qui accomplit les bonnes oeuvres. Vous qui allez prendre ce livre entre vos mains, ayez une pensée pour Jacques le pécheur. 1848.

Note

Notez que tout ce qui est dit dans le chapitre XIII d'Isaïe: «C'est Yahvé Sabaot qui passe en revue l'armée pour la bataille. Ils arrivent d'un pays lointain, des confins du ciel (c'est-à-dire du Turkistan, des Portes de la Mer Caspienne),... pour ravager toute la terre» (Is 13:4-5); et «Je vais punir l'univers de sa malice» (13:11), etc, le contenu tout entier de ce chapitre se rapporte à la nation impie des Agarins et prophétise leur domination du monde. De même, tout ce qu'il est dit

βαίνουν μὲ σκάλα. Εἶναι σκεπασμένος καὶ βαστοῦν τὴν σκέπην τρεῖς στύλοι ὀκτάγωνοι ἀπὸ ξύλον εὐωδέστατον τῆς ἀλόης, χοντροὶ ὅσον τὸ χόντρος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ ὕψος τρεῖς ἥμισυ πήχεις. Ἔσωθεν ἐνδεδυμένος μὲ κόκκινον μεταξωτὸν καὶ ἄσπρον. Ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ μεταξωτοῦ εἶναι γραμμένη μὲ χρυσὰ γράμματα ἀραβικὰ ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεώς των, ἤτοι· «Λὰ ἐλάχ, ἐλλὰ Ἀλλάχ, Μωαμὲτ ρεσοὺλ Ἀλλάχ», ἤγουν· «Ἕνας εἶναι ὁ θεός, εἷς ὁ θεός, καὶ ὁ Μωάμεθ εἶναι ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ». Ὁ ναὸς οὗτος εἶναι εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς πόλεως, περιτειχισμένος μὲ τεῖχος τετράγωνον, μὲ μεγαλωτάτην περιοχήν, σκεπασμένος μὲ θόλον καμαρωτὸν ὡραῖον. Ἡ περιοχή του ὁλόγυρα λέγεται *Χαράμ*, καὶ ἔχει τρεῖς ἀράδες στύλους καὶ τέσσαρας καμάρας εἰς τὸν τοῖχον διὰ τὰς || (f. 273v) τέσσαρας διαφορὰς τοῦ Μωαμεθισμοῦ. Ὑπὸ κάτωθεν τῶν καμαρῶν εἶναι ὁ εὐκτήριος οἶκος τῶν ἡμήριδων. Κάθε καμάρα βλέπει πρὸς τὸν ναόν. Ὁ ναὸς εἶναι ζωσμένος μὲ δύο ζώνας χρυσάς, ἡ μία ὑψηλότερη, ἡ ἄλλη κατώτερη. Τὰ κεραμίδια χρυσά, καὶ ἡ σκέπη του ἐκτείνεται πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἕως μίαν πῆχυν. Τὰ κεραμίδια λέγουσι νὰ εἶναι μαλαγματένια. Ὁ ναὸς εἶναι ὑπέρπλουτος, μὲ στολισμοὺς ὁποῦ ὅλοι οἱ βασιλεῖς μωαμεθῖται στέλλουσι. Εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν τέσσαρας φορὰς μόνον τὸν χρόνον εἰσέρχονται, διότι τὸν ἔχουν ὡς ἅγια ἁγίων, τὸ Ραμαζὰν διὰ νὰ πλύνουν μὲ ροδόσταμα, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν παστρέψουν καλά, τετράκις τότε. Ὅποιος ὅμως προσφέρει ἑκατὸν φλωρία εἰς τὸν ναόν, εὑρίσκει τὸν τρόπον νὰ εἰσέλθῃ καὶ ἄλλοτε.

Ταῦτα ἐμάθομεν ἀπὸ ἀξιόπιστον ἱστορικὸν αὐτόπτην, διατρίβοντα εἰς ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη μὲ ὑπόκρισιν τὸ νὰ εἶναι τῆς μωαμεθικῆς θρησκείας. Ἄς νοήσῃ οὖν πᾶς ἐχέφρων τὴν πλάνην τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου λαοπλάνου Μωάμεθ.

Τῷ ξυντελεστῇ τῶν καλῶν θεῷ χάρις. Μέμνησθε οἱ τυχόντες τοῦ τεύχους Ἰακώβου ἁμαρτωλοῦ. ͵αωμη'.

Ὑποσημείωσις

(f. 274r) Σημείωσον ὅτι τὰ ὅσα περιέχει τὸ ιγ' κεφάλαιον τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαΐου· «Ἐντέταλται ἔθνη ὁπλομάχῳ ἔρχεσθαι ἐκ γῆς πόρρωθεν ἀπ' ἄκρου θεμελίου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Τουρκιστὰν δηλαδή, ἐκ τῶν Κασπίων Πυλῶν) τοῦ καταφθεῖραι τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην», καί· «Ἐντελοῦμαι τῇ γῇ ὅλῃ κακά», καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅλου τοῦ κεφαλαίου τούτου, περὶ τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς ἔθνους τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν προφητεύει ὁποῦ κατεκράτησε πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Τὰ δὲ ὅσα

1 σκεπασμένη **2** ἀλώης χοντρὴ **3** ἐνδεδυμένη **4** γραμμένα **13** δύω **14** ζῶνας ὑψηλοτέρη **17** μωαμεθίται

par la suite dans le chapitre XIV, est dit au sujet de la disparition et de l'anéantissement de cet empire impie qui «a couvert la face du monde» (14:21) et dont le chef «se présenta comme un Dieu, s'élevant jusqu'au ciel» (14:13-14). Il y est dit en effet: «Plus jamais il ne sera nommé» (14:20); «il sera jeté hors de son sépulcre comme une ordure dégoûtante, couvert de massacrés, d'égorgés par l'épée...» (14:19). «Ceux qui l'apercevront (qui seront les témoins de son anéantissement), le considèreront, le regardant avec attention, et diront: «Est-ce là l'homme qui faisait trembler la terre, qui renversait les royaumes, qui réduisait le monde en désert?» (14:16-17). «Race des méchants, préparez le massacre de ses fils» (14:21), etc. Tout ce chapitre, dont le contenu s'accorde avec les propos du prophète Ezéchiel, prophétise le déploiement puis l'anéantissement de la tyrannie du Turc. Le nouveau peuple de Dieu y est appelé Israël. Et on y lit encore: «Je supprimerai son nom et le reste. Ni descendance ni postérité» (14:22). «J'ai décidé de l'écraser sur mes montagnes. Son joug glissera d'eux, son fardeau leur glissera de l'épaule» (14:25), etc.[107] (J'ai pensé à toutes ces choses soudainement).

C'est à cet endroit que prennent fin les intentions exposées dans le présent livre.

On ne peut pas limiter le créateur des siècles à des délais de temps précis pour ce qui est de la fin du monde. Dieu attend que soient complètement formés les chœurs de tous les saints. Le Seigneur miséricordieux attend le salut de tous les hommes qui doivent être sauvés avant de décider la fin du monde. C'est pourquoi il est dit au sujet des élus: «Ces jours-là seront abrégés» (Mt 24:22). La fin du monde surviendra donc le jour où sera sauvé le dernier des hommes qui doit être sauvé. Il est dit en effet: «Il ne vous appartient pas de connaître les temps et les moments que le père a fixés de sa seule autorité» (Ac 1, 7). Selon donc la décision même de Dieu, nul ne peut dire dans combien de temps exactement aura lieu la fin du monde. C'est pourquoi tous ceux qui ont voulu préciser ce moment selon des calculs humains se sont trompés. Une chose cependant, d'après saint Pierre, est sûre: «Le Seigneur ne tardera pas l'accomplissement de ce qu'il a promis (comme certains l'accusent de retard), mais il use de patience envers nous, voulant que personne ne périsse, mais que tous arrivent au repentir. Il viendra le Jour du Seigneur, comme un voleur» au milieu de la nuit (2 Pr 3:9-10), etc.[108] Saint Syméon, le nouveau théologien, est du même avis au sujet de la fin du monde, à savoir que ce moment viendra lorsque sera sauvé le dernier homme qui doit être sauvé et que les chœurs des saints seront complètement formés. Et cette opinion est véridique et infaillible. Fin de la fin.

πάλιν λέγει τὸ ἀκόλουθον ιδʹ κεφάλαιον περὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας καὶ ἀφανισμοῦ τῆς ἀσεβοῦς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας λέγει, ἥτις ἐκυρίευσε πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ ἐθεοποιήθη ὁ σουλτάνος ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθείς. Καὶ λέγει ὅτι· «᾿Απολῶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ ριφήσῃ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὡς νεκρὸς ἐβδελυγμένος μετὰ πολλῶν τεθνηκότων ἐκκεκεντημένων μαχαίραις. Οἱ ἰδόντες (τὴν ἀπώλειαν) θαυμάσουσι καὶ ἐροῦσιν· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παροξύνων τὴν γῆν, σείων βασιλείας, ὁ θεὶς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ἔρημον σπέρμα πονηρόν, ἑτοίμασον σφαγῆναι τὰ τέκνα σου», καὶ λοιπὰ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τούτου συμφώνως τῷ ᾿Ιεζεκιήλ, περὶ ἁπλώσεως τῆς τυραννίας τοῦ Τούρκου καὶ τοῦ τελείου ἀφανισμοῦ αὐτοῦ προφητεύει. ᾿Ισραὴλ δὲ τὸν νέον χριστώνυμον λαὸν καλεῖ, καὶ «ὅτι ἔσονται εἰς καταπάτημα καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσεται ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ ζυγὸς καὶ τὸ κῦδος αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπολῶ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄνομα καὶ κατάλειμμα καὶ σπέρμα», καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ (ἀπροόπτως ἐννοήθην).

(f. 274v) *῟Ωδε γίνεται τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῆς πραγματείας τῆς παρούσης βίβλου.*

῾Ο ποιητὴς τῶν αἰώνων δὲν στενοῦται εἰς διορίαν ἀριθμοῦ ἐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν συντέλειαν. Μὴ γένοιτο! ᾿Αλλὰ περιμένει τὴν τελείωσιν τῶν χορῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἁπάντων. ῞Οτι ἕως ὁποῦ σώζονται ἄνθρωποι σωθῆναι μέλλοντες, περιμένει ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Κύριος τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς συντελείας διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς· «Κολοβωθήσονται αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι». ῞Οθεν μὲ τὴν τελείωσιν τοῦ ἐσχάτως μέλλοντος σωθῆναι δικαίου ἀνδρὸς ποιεῖ καὶ τὴν συντέλειαν ὁ Κύριος. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει· «Οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστι γνῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ Πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ». ‖ (f. 275r) ῞Οθεν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν θείαν ἀπόφασιν, οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν ὅτι εἰς τὰ τόσα ἔτη γίνεται ἡ συντέλεια. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὅσοι ἀνθρωπίνως εἶπον καὶ ἀπεφάσισαν, ἐλανθάσθησαν. Τοῦτο ὅμως εἶναι βέβαιον κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον Πέτρον· «Οὐ βραδύνει ὁ Κύριος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας (ὥς τινες βραδύτητα ἡγοῦνται), ἀλλὰ μακροθυμεῖ εἰς ἡμᾶς μὴ βουλόμενός τινας ἀπολέσθαι ἀλλὰ πάντας εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι. ῞Ηξει δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς κλέπτης ἐν νυκτί», καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Συμεὼν ὁ νέος θεολόγος περὶ συντελείας τῶν αἰώνων δίδει. ῞Οτι μὲ τὸ τέλος τῶν σωζομένων, ἐν τῇ τελειώσει τοῦ ἐσχάτως μέλλοντος σωθῆναι καὶ συμπληρῶσαι τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἁγίων, γίνεται καὶ ἡ συντέλεια. Καὶ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη εἶναι ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀλάνθαστος. Τέλους τέλος.

3 ἕως **5** ἐκκεντημένων **6** οὗτος παρωξύνων **8** σφαγῆσαι **9** τυρανίας
14 ὧδε **15** διωρίαν **16** περιμένῃ **17** ἕως **19** κολωβοθήσονται **22** ἐστὶ **27** βραδυτῆτα **28** ἤξει

NOTES

1. Sur le problème de la date précise de la naissance de Mahomet voir: J. Gagnier, *La vie de Mahomet...*, Paris 1748 (2e éd.), I, 99, qui admet l'année 578 de l'ère chrétienne ou l'année 569 de l'«ère vulgaire»; il s'appuie sur la *Vie de Mahomet* écrite par Abû l-Fidâ. A.P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes...*, Paris 1847-1848, I, 282-283, basé lui aussi sur le texte d'Abû l-Fidâ, retient la date du 27 août 570. La même date est retenue par Barthélemy de Saint-Hilaire, *Mahomet et le Coran*, Paris 1865, p.I. R. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, Leyden 1879, p. 18, admet l'année 571. Tous les ouvrages récents (T. Andrae, R. Blachère, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M. Hamidullah, M. Watt, etc.) qui sont consacrés à la vie et à la personne de Mahomet, traitent de cette question. Voir en particulier M. Hamidullah, *Le prophète de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, I, 37, qui renvoie aux sources arabes.

2. Selon Anastasios Gordios (1654-1729), Mahomet serait né en l'année 600 et mort en l'année 666, à l'âge de 66 ans, parce qu'il était l'Antichrist désigné par le chiffre 666 de l'Apocalypse (XII, 18). Gordios prétend avoir trouvé cette date «chez certains chronographes» mais ne précise pas ses sources. Voir A. Argyriou, *Les Exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse...*, Thessalonique 1982, p. 333-334. Du même, *Anastasios Gordios: «Sur Mahomet et contre les Latins»...* (édition critique), Athènes 1982, p. 42-43. D'une manière générale, les chroniqueurs byzantins ne donnent pas de date précise pour la naissance de Mahomet. Voir A. Argyriou, *Éléments biographiques...*, dans *La vie du prophète Mahomet*, Paris 1983, p. 159-182. Mais l'année 600 en tant qu'année de naissance de Mahomet était connue des Occidentaux depuis le IXe-Xe siècle. Voir Ph. Senac, *L'image de l'autre...* Paris 1983, 31 sq.

3. Κισσαῖος est probablement l'auteur arabe Al-Kisâ'î (début IVe/Xe s.) dont le *Kisas al-anbiyâ'* (Vita prophetarum) était connu des Occidentaux. Voir E. Cerulli, *Il «Libro dellla scala»*, Città di Vaticano 1949, p. 239. Cette *Vie des prophètes* fut éditée par S. Eisenberg, Leyden 1922-23, en deux volumes. À noter que le voyageur P. Belon, *Les observations...*, Paris 1553, p. 171, donne aussi l'année 620 comme date de naissance de Mahomet, selon l'*Asear* (la *Sîra*) turque.

4. Les «sources arabes» donnent généralement comme date de naissance de Mahomet «l'année de l'Éléphant». Voir Ibn Hishâm, *Sîra...* (trad. allemande de G. Weil, Stuttgart 1864), I, 102. Tabarî, *Chronique* (trad. française de H. Zotenberg, Paris 1958, nouv. éd.), III, 233. Mas'ûdî, *Prairies d'or* (trad. française de Barbier de Meynar et Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861-1877), IV, 130. Abû l-Fidâ, *Vie de Mahomet* (trad. française de J. Desverges, Paris 1837), p. 2.

5. Ce fut par exemple le cas des mu'tazila qui ne voulaient pas donner crédit aux récits merveilleux relatifs à la vie du Prophète. Ricoldo de Monte Croce (PG, CLIV, 1104, 1120), repris par Jean Cantacuzène (Ib. 604, 617-620), rapporte également que bon nombre de musulmans ne croyaient pas aux fables de Mahomet.

6. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., I, 102.

7. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., I, 102-103. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 2. J. Gagnier, op. cit., I, 99, selon le livre des *Dons agréables*. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, p. 58. M. Hamidullah, op. cit., p. 37-38.

8. Nous n'avons pu trouver ailleurs ces deux opinions.

9. 'Αβουναζάρ est probablement Abû Ma'šar, astronome et astrologue arabe mort à Bagdad en 866 après J.-C. Il était largement connu des Occidentaux sous le nom d'Albumasar. Voir M. Asin Palacios, *Eschatologia musulmana...*, Madrid 1919, p. 402 (à propos de la citation d'Abû Ma'šar dans la *Divine Comédie* de Dante), C.A. Nallino, *Racoltà...* Rome 1944, V, 331-332. E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 508.

10. J. Gagnier, op. cit., I, 99. Cl. Savary, *Vie de Mahomet...*, Paris 1782, I, 6.

11. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., I, 103-104. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 234-235. Cl. Savary, op. cit., I, 6.

12. Nous n'avons pu trouver nulle part ailleurs ce récit tel qu'il est rapporté par notre auteur et sur

lequel l'influence de la polémique chrétienne est évidente. Voir un récit analogue mais beaucoup plus développé dans A. Argyriou, *Anastasios Gordios et l'islam*, RSR 43 (1969) 82-83.

13. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., I, 103. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 235.

14. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 3. J. Gagnier, op. cit., I, 101. Cl. Savary, op. cit., I, 6. Par contre, nous n'avons pu trouver ailleurs le miracle relatif au torrent de Samaba. Le nom provient de la racine arabe s-m-b- qui signifie torrent.

15. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., I, 104. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 235. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 3. J. Gagnier, op. cit., I, 101. Cl. Savary, op. cit., I, 6.

16. Voir note précédente. Sur l'ensemble de ce récit on peut éqalement consulter des ouvrages plus récents sur la vie de Mahomet.

17. À noter que selon un hadīth les habitants du paradis auront «l'âge de Jésus au moment de sa mort, la face de Joseph, le cœur d'Abraham, la stature d'Adam, la voix de David et le langage de Mahomet». Al-Maqdisi, *Le livre de la création et de l'histoire*, (trad. française de Cl. Huart), Paris 1899-1919, I, 179.

18. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 234.

19. Pierre Pascasius ou Pascual († 1330), professeur puis évêque de Jaën (= Gienne), en Espagne, fut prisonnier des Maures à Grenade. Son martyre, subi probablement dans cette dernière ville, est fêté le 6 décembre. Son activité contre l'islam fut grande. On a de lui un petit traité intitulé *Sobre la seta mohametana*, édité par P. Armengol Valenzuela dans le vol. 3 des *Obras di S. Pietro Pascual*, Rome 1905-1908. 4 volumes. E. Cerulli, op. cit., a reproduit le récit de Pascual relatif à l'ascension de Mahomet. Voir encore A. d'Ancona, *La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente*, dans «Giornale storico della letteratura italiana» 13 (1889) 199-281. U. Monneret de Villard, *De studio del islam in Europa...*, Città del Vaticano, 1944.

20. C'est l'âge communément admis par la tradition musulmane, selon un verset coranique. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 390, rapporte trois versions différentes (40, 43, 20 ans). Mas'ūdī, op. cit., IV, 129, écrit «quarante ans et un jour», ou bien (p. 154) «quarante et un an», ou encore (p. 148) «quarante trois ans». Pour Barthélemy d'Édesse (PG, CIV, 1388), Mahomet était idolâtre jusqu'à l'âge de 32 ans, période durant laquelle il avait vécu dans la débauche, la magie et le pillage. Ces accusations sont reprises par Prideaux, *La vie de Mahomet*, Amsterdam 1698, p. 137, qui situe la conversion de Mahomet à l'âge de 38 ans.

21. Ce moment de la vie et de la mission de Mahomet, en relation avec son épilepsie, son mariage avec Khadīdja et ses liens avec un moine chrétien hérétique, est l'un des plus «connus» et des plus amplement développés par les polémistes chrétiens, tant orientaux qu'occidentaux. Voir A. d'Ancona, op. cit. U. Monneret de Villard, op. cit. A. Argyriou, *Éléments biographiques...* G. Troupeau, *La biographie de Mahomet dans l'œuvre de Barthélemy d'Édesse*, dans *La vie du prophète Mahomet*, p. 147-157.

22. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 391-392, donne une version plus courte et, naturellement, une explication différente, M. Hamidullah, op. cit., I, 68, rapporte le récit d'Ibn Hishâm (op. cit., I, 154) qui est presque identique à celui de notre auteur.

23. Nil le Myrovlyte fut un moine athonite du XIIIe siècle, originaire du Péloponnèse. Ses reliques reposent au monastère de la Grande Laure, au Mont Athos, depuis 1815. Il est fêté le 12 novembre et le 7 mai. Le codex n° 11 du monastère athonite de Xénophon contient la vie, les miracles, les prophéties et l'enseignement moral et spirituel de saint Nil. Les propos de Nil le Myrovlyte rapportés par notre auteur se trouvent dans les pages 235-237 du manuscrit.

24. Mahomet est accusé de sodomie par nombre de polémistes byzantins et occidentaux. À titre d'exemple, Barthélemy d'Édesse, PG, CIV, 1388. Zigabène, PG, CXXXI, 36. Ricoldo, PG, CLIV, 1045. Cependant les accusations de notre auteur vont au-delà des accusations ordinaires, à moins de comprendre ses propos dans un sens très général.

25. Voir Anonyme, PG, CIV, 1448-1449. Barthélemy d'Édesse, PG, CIV, 1388-1389, 1428, 1432. Ricoldo, PG, CLIV, 1116. J. Cantacuzène, PG, CLIV, 592, 601-604. Zigabène, PG, CXXX, 1333. Pour

les sources arabes, voir Ṭabarî, op. cit., II, 393-394 et M.W. Watt, *Mahomet à la Mecque*, Paris 1957, p. 65-67, qui reproduit quelques versions empruntées à Az-Zuhrî.

26. Sourate 73 intitulée *al-muzammil* (celui qui est enveloppé).

27. Sourate 74 intitulée *al-muddattir* (celui couvert d'un manteau). Notre auteur se trompe donc quant à la numérotation de cette dernière sourate, à moins qu'il s'agisse d'une faute de copiste.

28. Philippe Guadagnoli (1596-1656) entra dans la Congrégation des clercs réguliers mineurs et fut procureur général de l'Église. Ayant appris plusieurs langues orientales, il enseigna l'arabe à la Sapience et rédigea une *Grammaire* (Rome 1642) et un *Dictionnaire* (inédit) arabes. Sa traduction arabe de la Bible, revue et corrigée par Maracci, fut éditée en 1671. Son activité anti-islamique est liée à la controverse engagée entre les Occidentaux et le Persan Ahmet b. Zin, à la suite de la publication de l'ouvrage du Père Jérôme Xavier, *Le miroir qui montre la vérité*. Ahmed b. Zin qui en avait pris connaissance, avait voulu le réfuter en rédigeant *Le polisseur du miroir* (1621) qu'il envoya au pape Urbain VIII. Le pape chargea alors Philippe Guadagnoli d'y répondre. Celui-ci rédigea trois ouvrages anti-islamiques volumineux: a) *Apologia pro christiana religione*..., Rome 1631; b) *Responsio ad objectiones Ahmed*..., Rome 1637; c) *Considerationes ad Mohametanos*..., Rome 1649.

29. Nous n'avons pas pu consulter les ouvrages de Philippe Guadagnoli et nous ignorons tout de l'existence des deux écrits musulmans cités par notre auteur. J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 271, présente le livre intitulé *Agar* comme «interprété» par Guadagnoli. Prideaux, qui se réfère au même polémiste latin une quinzaine de fois, cite également le *Liber Agar* cinq fois associé au nom de Guadagnoli. À propos des entretiens de Mahomet, Prideaux, qui cite notamment le *Liber Agar* et Guadagnoli, dit cependant que Mahomet s'entretenait avec l'ange Gabriel et non pas avec Dieu. De l'ouvrage intitulé *Νικητήρια* nous n'avons pu trouver aucune mention nulle part.

30. Voir Tabarî, op. cit., II, 394-396 et PG, CIV, 1449 et CXXX, 1333. C'est l'opinion communément admise. Voir également Mas'ûdî, op. cit., IV, 134-137, qui discute les opinions à ce propos des diverses tendances politico-religieuses au sein de l'Islam. De même Abû l-Fiḍâ, op. cit., p. 13.

31. 'Alî, quatrième calife et chef de la tendance politico-religieuse des 'alîdes, puis des shi'ites, était le cousin de Mahomet. Devenu le fils adoptif du prophète, il épousa sa fille cadette Fatima. Voir art. *'Alî* et *'Alîdes* dans l'EI², I, 412-414 et 392-397, où on trouvera une bibliographie abondante.

32. Sur la vocation de Mahomet, voir, Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., 154. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 390-397. Mas'ûdî, op. cit., IV, 131-134. Voir aussi Coran 96:1-5 et 74:1-10.

33. Voir Coran 94:1-3. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., I, 155. Tabarî, op. cit., II, 241. Mas'ûdî, op. cit., IV, 131. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 8-9. Bukhârî, *Les Traditions*... (trad. française d'O. Houdas et G. Marçais, Paris 1908-1914), III, 37. Ce dernier situe l'ouverture de la poitrine juste avant l'ascension du prophète. M.W. Watt, op. cit., p. 61 qui rapporte le récit d'Ibn Ishâq d'après Ibn Hishâm. R. Dozy, op. cit., p. 123-130. J. Gagnier, op. cit., I, 173. Caussin de Perceval, op. cit., I, 288.

34. L'expression «plus grande qu'un âne, plus petite qu'un mulet», se trouve chez nombre d'auteurs musulmans et occidentaux. Manuel II Paléologue (éd. E. Trapp, Vienne 1966) écrit (p. 52): «Ἐλμπαράκ, ζῴου ἡμιόνου μὲν ἧττονος, ὄνου δὲ διαφέροντος». Pour la bibliographie, voir l'article *al-Burâk* dans l'EI², I, 1350-1351.

35. Le voyage nocturne et sa réfutation occupent la majeure partie de notre texte. Les polémistes byzantins ne s'attardent pas beaucoup sur l'ascension de Mahomet qu'ils semblent pourtant bien connaître: Barthélemy d'Édesse, op. cit., col. 1393 et 1432. Ricoldo, op. cit., col. 1045, 1073, 1120-1124. Cantacuzène, op. cit., col. 617, 628, 676 et 688. Manuel II Paléologue, op. cit., p. 51-54. L'auteur anonyme a donc puisé ses renseignements chez les Occidentaux qui connaissaient le récit du *mi'râdj* du prophète dans tous ses détails. Pour la bibliographie, particulièrement abondante, consulter J. Widengren, *Mahomet l'apôtre de Dieu et son ascension*. Upsala 1955, 1960. Dans notre souci de déterminer les sources de notre auteur, nous avons suivi les divers récits du Moyen Age reproduits par E. Cerruli, op. cit. Pavet de Courteille, *Mirâdj Nâmeh* (= Livre de l'Ascension), Paris 1882. E. Blochet, *L'ascension de Mahomet*, dans RHR 40 (1899) 222-236. De même, les récits donnés par Bukhârî et Abû l-Fidâ. Malheureusement nous n'avons pas pu nous référer directement au texte d'Ibn 'Abbas, *Al-Isrâ' wa l-Mi'râdj* (= Le voyage et l'Ascension), Le Caire s.d., ni aux livres *Agar* et *Chants victorieux*, tous les trois mentionnés par notre auteur à propos du voyage nocturne. L'étude comparative à laquelle nous nous sommes livré entre le récit de notre auteur et les autres récits à notre disposition, montre que notre auteur puise ses renseignements dans plusieurs sources occidentales mais de manière très sélective.

36. Voir Mt 21: 1-10, Mc 11: 1-11, Lc 19: 28-38, Jn 12: 12-16.

37. E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 44, 45, 266. E. Blochet, op. cit., p. 226. J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 259-262.

38. Cette dernière réflexion est de notre auteur.

39. Sur le Temple de Jérusalem, voir ci-après, note 75.

40. Voir à ce propos le texte de P. Pascual dans E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 267 et dans J. Garnier, op. cit., p. 261, où il est question de la «Maison de Dieu» et non du «Temple de Salomon» dont il n'existait à cette époque que la pierre de Jacob. P. Gagnier pense qu'il s'agissait de l'église de la Résurrection. Il est vrai que les divers récits musulmans ne s'occupent pas beaucoup de l'exactitude historique des faits et notre auteur ne manque pas l'occasion pour en tirer argument.

41. Il est à noter que notre auteur ne fait aucune mention du rassemblement des prophètes dans le Temple et de leur prière dirigée par Mahomet en tant qu'imâm des prophètes. Or il s'agit d'un événement relaté par tous les récits du voyage nocturne, musulmans et occidentaux. Quant à la double prosternation, elle est abondamment citée dans le texte utilisé par J. Gagnier. Il s'agirait de la prière accomplie selon le rite d'Abraham que Mahomet renouvelait en compagnie des anges à son arrivée dans chaque ciel. Voir également Ricoldo, op. cit., col. 1121 et Cantacuzène, op. cit., col. 677.

42. Le *Libro della scala* (E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 152) mentionne quatre boissons: lait, miel, eau et vin. Les autres récits en mentionnent trois: lait, vin et eau. À noter que dans certains récits (*Libro della scala*, Bukhârî, G. Widengren, op. cit., p. 103, 114), cet événement est situé dans le septième ciel, devant le *Lotus de la Limite*, et après que Mahomet ait visité le Paradis et reçu les prières. Toutefois l'explication donnée à l'événement par l'ensemble des récits est d'ordre moral plutôt que dogmatique.

43. P. Pascual (E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 266), *Libro della scala*, p. 44, 45. J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 260-261. E. Blochet, op. cit., p. 226. Dans ce dernier récit le monde est représenté comme «un viellard... vêtu d'habits magnifiques». Dans les trois textes cités, Mahomet avait eu cette vision avant son arrivée à Jérusalem.

44. Dans les autres récits, il n'est pas question de la lune mais du premier ciel. La mention de la lune chez notre auteur est destinée à faciliter sa réfutation du voyage nocturne.

45. L'ange Asmaël est mentionné par Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 268. Dans le texte utilisé par J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 269, la fonction d'Asmaël serait de «présider à la garde du ciel du monde».

46. P. Pascual (E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 274) et le *Libro della scala* (E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 60-61) donnent une description détaillée de la stature des anges. Notre auteur utilise un peu plus loin la partie de cette description relative à leur visage. Mais le nombre des anges mentionné par notre auteur n'est donné par aucun autre récit. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 268, écrit qu'Asmaël avait sous ses ordres 12.000 anges et que chacun d'eux était à la tête de 12.000 autres anges.

47. On trouve ce même dialogue sous une forme presque identique dans le *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, p. 4-5. Les autres récits ne se rapprochent que de manière partielle ou approximative. Le texte de Ricoldo, op. cit., col. 1121 et celui de J. Cantacuzène, op. cit., col. 677, présentent une grande similitude avec le texte de notre auteur. La phrase «Est-il bien vrai... ces temps-ci» semble être une mauvaise traduction du texte arabe d'Ibn Hishâm.

48. Le texte grec est très obscur à cet endroit et nous n'avons rencontré nulle part ailleurs son parallèle. Car pour presque tous les récits de l'ascension, Adam pleure en regardant à sa gauche les âmes des condamnés et il se réjouit en regardant à sa droite les âmes des bienheureux. À moins que notre texte soit une mauvaise traduction du texte arabe d'Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 269-270, où l'on lit que devant l'âme

d'un fidèle Adam se réjouissait et disait: «Esprit bon sorti d'un corps bon» et que devant l'âme d'un infidèle il disait: «Esprit mauvais sorti d'un corps mauvais».

49. Notre auteur emploie le superlatif absolu πάγκαλος de la langue liturgique grecque. Mais la beauté de Joseph est amplement décrite dans le *Libro della scala*, p. 64-65. Voir encore E. Blochet, op. cit., p. 230, où Joseph est «orné d'une telle beauté que les yeux en étaient éblouis», et R. Ximenez, *Historia Arabum* (éd. par Erpenius, 1625), p. 5, où Joseph «a le visage d'une pleine lune», expression que l'on trouve chez Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 270.

50. *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, p. 9, en donne une autre version mais qui va dans le même sens.

51. Pour «Le Temple visité» ou «La Maison céleste» voir: Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 270. *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, p. 10. E. Blochet, op. cit., p. 232. Quant à la position d'Abraham, dans le *Mirâdj-Nâmeh* il est assis sur une chaire, devant un vaste keuchk, tandis que pour le texte de Blochet, il fait la prière avec ses fils, assis le dos tourné à la Maison céleste. P. Pascual et le *Libro della scala* n'en parlent point. R. Ximenez, op. cit., p. 5, présente Abraham «sedentem in sede a parte domus», expression qui se rapproche de celle d'Ibn Hishâm. À noter que ces deux derniers textes sont, à cet endroit du récit, presque identiques au texte de notre auteur. Dans J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 286, on lit: «Je vis un vieillard assis sur un Trône dont le dossier était appuyé contre la maison appelée mâ'moun (= visitée).

52. Le commerce charnel des anges est une tradition musulmane populaire que les polémistes chrétiens ont souvent exploitée.

53. Seul le *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, p. 10, parle de la tenue vestimentaire des adeptes de Mahomet au Paradis. Selon ce texte, «les uns portent une tunique blanche, les autres une tunique rayée de blanc et de noir».

54. Il est à noter que l'ordre des prophètes donné par notre auteur est le même que celui donné par Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 268-270, et par Bukhârî, op. cit., III, 38-39, et que l'on ne trouve ce même ordre dans aucun autre texte parmi ceux que nous avons pu consulter. On constate donc qu'à cet endroit notre auteur suit la tradition musulmane la plus orthodoxe, mais il nous est impossible de dire quelle est sa source précise.

55. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 270, et Bukhârî, op. cit., III, 39, ne donnent aucun détail sur cet arbre. Le *Libro della scala*, p. 122-123, donne une description très détaillée de l'arbre du Paradis appelé *Tûbâ* (= arbre de joie et de délice), mais celle-ci ne s'accorde pas avec la description donnée par notre auteur. Le *Libro della scala* parle aussi (p. 142-3) de l'*arbre de la Perle* situé dans le *Zaderat halmuta* (le lieu spacieux). Le *Mirâdj-Nâmeh* parle de l'arbre appelé *Sidret el-mounteha* dont il donne une brève description. L'arbre porte le même nom dans le texte de Blochet, op. cit. p. 232, 233, 234. Le passage du mot arabe *sidret* au mot grec σίδηρος semble évident. Cet arbre est le *Lotus de la Limite dernière* au-delà de laquelle s'étend l'inconnaissable. Voir *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, p. 12. Al-Maqdisi, op. cit., I, 171-172. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., p. 96. J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 290, écrit «Sadra du Terme au-delà duquel il n'est pas permis aux anges de passer».

56. Selon le *Libro della scala*, p. 124-125, au pied de l'arbre *Tûbâ* coulent d'innombrables fontaines de vin, tandis qu'au pied de l'*arbre de la Perle* coule la source *Halkauflar* (= la fontaine de la grâce) destinée à Mahomet et à ses adeptes uniquement. Cette source n'est autre que la source *al-Kawthar* de la sourate CVIII, 1 (= Abondance). Selon la tradition musulmane *al-Kawthar* est l'un des fleuves du Paradis que nous devons rapprocher du fleuve *Kafthir* de notre auteur. Cependant nous n'avons rencontré le thème de l'ablution dans aucun autre récit. Seul le texte utilisé par J. Gagnier (p. 290) fait état du désir de Mahomet de faire «une ample et copieuse ablution pour se purifier de toutes les souillures». Voir aussi art. *al-Kawthar*, dans EI², IV, 838.

57. Ce «petit bateau» qui fait penser à la *Divine comédie* n'est mentionné nulle part ailleurs. Pour le *Libro della scala*, p. 134-137, le guide de Mahomet dans le Paradis fut Ridwan, le trésorier du Paradis.

58. Il s'agit de Zaïd b. Hâritha (voir Tabarî, op. cit., III, 191) dont la femme Zaïnab avait été convoitée et épousée par Mahomet (cf. sourate XXXIII, 36-40) et à qui la Tradition a promis la plus belle parmi

les Uris du Paradis. Voir Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 270. R. Ximenez, op. cit., p. 5. Alfonso el Sabio, *Primera Cronicà...*, Madrid 1906, p. 272. B. Schriere, «Die Himmelsreise Muhammeds», dans *Der Islam* 6 (1916) 17-18.

59. Voir ci-devant note 55.

60. Nous n'avons pas pu trouver ailleurs ces mêmes renseignements.

61. Le texte de notre auteur est très proche de celui d'Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 271-272. Mais sur ce point toutes les traditions s'accordent.

62. Voir ci-devant, note 56.

63. Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 272, emploie la même expression au sujet du nombre des verres à boire.

64. La beauté des Uris est décrite par le Coran et par l'ensemble de la tradition musulmane. Toutefois, nous n'avons pas pu trouver à quel texte précis notre auteur a emprunté les images qu'il emploie.

65. Prideaux, op. cit., p. 62-63. J. Cantacuzène, op. cit., col. 677.

66. J. Cantacuzène, ibidem.

67. Selon le *Libro della scala*, p. 82, et P. Pascual (E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 281), Gabriel prit congé de Mahomet devant les paravents qui séparent Dieu des êtres célestes, dans le huitième ciel qui est la demeure de Dieu. Pour le texte de Blochet, op. cit., p. 233, et pour *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, p. 12, Gabriel se retira aussitôt après la visite du *Sidret el-mounteha*. À noter que dans tous ces récits Mahomet pénètre seul dans la région de l'Inconnaissable. On lit l'expression de notre auteur formulée de manière presque identique chez Ricoldo, op. cit., col. 1045 et chez J. Cantacuzène, op. cit., col. 677. Le texte de J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 297, va dans le même sens.

68. Au sujet du concile orthodoxe qui avait condamné la doctrine de Mahomet, voir ci-après note 100. Sur la réfutation de ce récit partant du fait de la nature même de Dieu, voir J. Cantacuzène, op. cit., col. 628, 680. Manuel II Paléologue, op. cit., p. 122, 134. Ὁλόσφυρος signifie *compact*, tandis que ὁλόσφαιρος est celui qui est *en forme de sphère*. Notre auteur emploie une première fois le mot ὁλόσφυρος, puis deux fois le mot ὁλόσφαιρος.

69. Εὐναββᾶς est connu chez les Occidentaux sous le nom de Habenabez, Abenabez, Abnez et Abulabes. Voir E. Cerulli, op. cit., p. 264, n. 344 et p. 247, n. 358. Il s'agit d''Abd Allâh b. al-'Abbâs ou Abû l''Abbâs, voir EI², I, 41-42.

70. Sur le point de savoir où se trouvait Mahomet la nuit de son départ pour Jérusalem, ou de son ascension au ciel, les traditions musulmanes sont contradictoires. Selon les plus anciennes, Mahomet se trouvait chez son épouse 'Umm Hânî, fille d'Abû Tâlib. Selon d'autres traditions, il aurait été chez 'Â'isha. Selon une troisième tradition enfin, Mahomet se trouvait à l'extérieur lorsqu'il reçut la visite de Gabriel l'invitant à faire avec lui ce voyage. Le problème est en fait de savoir à quel moment de la vie de Mahomet on doit situer cette aventure. La question est d'autant plus difficile à résoudre que deux voyages à première vue distincts, celui de l'*Isrâ'* (= voyage à Jérusalem) et celui du *Mi'râdj* (= ascension au ciel), se trouvent confondus en un seul dans les divers récits.

71. La sensualité des Turcs donnait cours à l'élaboration d'une foule de légendes et d'anecdotes circulant parmi les peuples chrétiens de l'empire ottoman et davantage encore chez les Occidentaux. Il serait difficile de dire si notre auteur a puisé cette légende dans une source écrite ou orale. Ἀθ. Ὑψηλάντης-Κομνηνός, *Τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν*, Constantinople 1870, écrit (p. 719): «Le drapeau de Mehmet est de couleur verte. Comme il est vieux et déchiré, (les Turcs) ne le hissent jamais; ils le gardent enroulé autour d'une lance. Pendant les campagnes dirigées par le wazir, le drapeau, enroulé de cette manière, est porté au devant du wazir jusqu'à la première halte. Par la suite, il est placé dans une malle en or portée, elle aussi, au devant du wazir. Durant toute la campagne, le drapeau est sous la responsabilité du nakipesref».

72. Cette dernière phrase fut ajoutée après coup à l'encre rouge; elle est difficile à comprendre. Le mot tiare fait penser au pape. Est-ce une analogie que le copiste y a voulu introduire?

73. Il s'agirait plutôt des sujets dont Mahomet s'était entretenu avec Dieu. Voir J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 303, selon un hadith attribué à Ibn 'Abbâs.

74. Selon un hadîth attribué à Abû Hûraïra (J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 303), Gabriel aurait accroché la maquette du Temple de Jérusalem sur le mur de la maison d'Okaïl b. Abû Tâlîb, père de 'Umm Hânî, située en face de la mosquée. Selon les divers hadiths, les questions que les Quraïchites posèrent à Mahomet portaient sur toutes sortes de points: la caravane médinoise partie pour Jérusalem; la résurrection de Qusayy, leur ancêtre; la lutte avec le géant Rukana al-Muttalibî. Voir aussi ce que rapporte à ce sujet Barthélemy d'Édesse, op. cit., col. 1392-1433 et 1440-1441.

75. Il n'y a pas lieu de parler ici du Temple de Jérusalem détruit en 71 après J.-C., de l'église de la Résurrection construite par l'impératrice Hélène, la mère de Constantin le Grand, et de la mosquée d'Omar dont la construction avait commencé aussitôt après la prise de la ville par les Arabes, en 337 après J.-C. L'épisode de l'enlèvement de la Croix du mont des Oliviers est relaté par Théophane, *Chronographia*, I, 524 (éd. de Bonn) que reprend Cédrénos, *Histoire*, 754 (éd. de Bonn); mais les deux chronographes byzantins ne parlent pas de la participation des démons à la construction de la mosquée.

76. La guerre sainte fut l'un des points de la doctrine musulmane les plus connus et les plus contestés par les polémistes chrétiens.

77. Τελώνια ψυχῶν (τελώνης = douanier, τελώνιον ou τελωνεῖον = douane). Ce sont les esprits du mal qui se tiennent devant les portes du ciel pour guetter les âmes et leur interdire l'accès du paradis.

78. Voir la reproduction du f. 266r. Les connaissances astronomiques de notre auteur ne sont pas négligeables. Il pourrait avoir consulté des ouvrages aussi bien grecs qu'occidentaux. Mais a-t-il emprunté à un ouvrage précis sa réfutation astronomique de l'ascension de Mahomet? Sur les rapports à établir entre les sept planètes et les sept âges de l'humanité, voir le cas de Théodoret de Jannina, dans A. Argyriou, *Les Exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse*, p. 524-525.

79. Voir *Actes des Apôtres*, VIII, 9-25. Nous n'avons rien pu trouver sur Κύνωψ.

80. Nous n'avons pas pu trouver à quel livre notre auteur a emprunté cette légende, qui est une légende populaire très répandue.

81. Βωμὸς τοῦ πάπα. Pendant l'occupation ottomane une opinion très répandue chez les chrétiens orthodoxes était que le pape se faisait adorer comme un dieu. Voir références dans A. Argyriou, op. cit., p. 716. Voir également ce que rapporte à ce sujet A. Comnène-Hypsilantis, op. cit. p. 38 et 233.

82. Il s'agit de l'occupation de Jérusalem par les Croisés et de la formation du Royaume de Jérusalem (1099-1185).

83. Les propos relatifs au «turban de Mahomet» sont plutôt obscurs.

84. Ci-après, p. 176.

85. Sur l'interprétation de la vision du cheval verdâtre (Ap VI, 7-8), voir A. Argyriou, op. cit., p., 179, 201-202, 205, 272, 541.

86. Le passage du mot du genre féminin au genre masculin (ἡ πλάτη, ὁ πλάτης) est curieux et inexplicable pour un mot si courant. Voir la même chose pour τὸ δένδρον, ὁ δένδρος, etc.

87. Les traditions musulmanes ne s'accordent pas entre elles, du moins pour ce qui est des détails de cette aventure du prophète, ce qui fait dire en conclusion à Tabarî, op. cit., III, 105: «Dieu seul connaît la vérité» à ce sujet. Cette tentative d'empoisonnement du prophète a dû avoir lieu durant la campagne de Khaïbar, peu après la prise de Fadâk (628). Le mouton rôti empoisonné fut offert à Mahomet par une femme juive de Fadâk, nommée Zaïnab, épouse de Sallâm, de la tribu des Benî-Nadhîr. La femme savait que Mahomet aimait le rôti de mouton et «principalement l'épaule» (Tabarî, op. cit., p. 104). Selon les uns, Zaïnab avait tenté d'empoisonner Mahomet pour venger son frère tué par 'Alî (J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 190). Selon Tabarî (ibidem) Zaïnab voulait savoir si Mahomet était un vrai prophète. Ainsi Ṭabarî rapporte-t-il que le prophète avait compris la ruse avant d'avaler le morceau de viande qu'il avait mis dans la bouche. Selon une autre tradition, ce serait le morceau de viande même qui aurait parlé à Mahomet, ou bien ce serait l'ange Gabriel qui aurait révélé la ruse au prophète et qui lui aurait demandé d'avaler la viande empoisonnée pour prouver à ses ennemis qu'ils ne pouvaient pas attenter à sa vie. Toujours est-il que Mahomet «ne se porta jamais bien depuis ce morceau fatal et il en mourut au bout de trois ans» (Prideaux, op. cit., p. 121). Bukhârî (op. cit., III, 171, 328) rapporte des traditions qui remontent à 'Âïsha et selon lesquelles Mahomet ne cessait de ressentir les séquelles laissées par cette viande empoisonnée. Voir encore Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 164. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 66. Prideaux, op. cit., p. 131. D'Ancona, op. cit., p. 275. Caussin de Perceval, op. cit., III, 200. Barthélemy de Saint-Hilaire, op. cit., p. 144.

88. Épisode bien connu, relaté dans la *Vie de saint Benoît* écrite par le pape Grégoire le Grand; il remonte à l'époque des toutes premières fondations du saint et concerne les moines indignes de Vicovaro.

89. Voir Bukhârî, op. cit., IV, 25-32.

90. Voir Bukhârî, op. cit., III, 240-244. Tabarî, op. cit., III, 204 sq. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 91. Parmi ces traditions, les unes disent que c'était Mahomet qui avait demandé à être soigné par 'Â'ïsha, les autres que c'étaient ses autres femmes qui le lui avaient proposé, ayant senti son désir.

91. Bukhârî, op. cit., III, 342-344. Tabarî, op. cit., III, 208. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 91. J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 190. Les versions diffèrent d'un auteur à l'autre.

92. Bukhârî (III, 240) rapporte à ce propos: «Quand l'agonie commença, il avait la tête appuyée sur la cuisse d'Aïcha»; ou bien selon les propos mêmes d' 'A'ïsha (III, 242, 243): «Je le soutenais sur ma poitrine»; ou encore (III, 243, 244): «Il mourut entre mon menton et mon épaule». Voir encore Tabarî, op. cit., III, 217. Abû l-Fidâ, op. cit., p. 91. J. Gagnier, op. cit., p. 190.

93. Nous n'avons rencontré ce petit détail chez aucun autre auteur.

94. Selon Bukhârî, op. cit., III, 242, «'Â'ïsha a dit: Le Prophète mourut (la tête) entre mon épaule et mon menton; aussi la mort de personne après celle du Prophète ne me causera-t-elle jamais d'effroi». Sur le degré des souffrances de Mahomet voir ibidem p. 237-247 et surtout la page 246.

95. Il nous a été impossible d'identifier ce personnage.

96. Il aurait fallu toute une dissertation pour étudier les termes ὁλόσφυρος, ὁλόσφαιρος, ὁλόβολος, σφαιρικός, σφαιροειδής, leur interprétation et leur réfutation chez les polémistes byzantins. Employé pour la première fois par l'auteur anonyme du *Contre Mahomet* (PG, CIV, 1453) et repris par Barthélemy d'Édesse (ibidem, 1385), le terme ὁλόσφαιρος, avec ses synonymes, a connu une grande fortune. Voir Nicétas de Byzance: PG, CV, 705-708. Zigavène: PG, CXXX, 1341. Manuel II Paléologue (éd. E. Trapp), p. 122, 134. Syméon de Thessalonique: PG, CLV, 77, etc. Les Byzantins traduisent par ὁλόσφαιρος ou ὁλόσφυρος le terme arabe *as-samadu* (sourate CXII, 2) qui a posé beaucoup de problèmes aux commentateurs musulmans également. Pour les Byzantins il s'agit d'un anthropomorphisme pur et simple, d'autant plus que la présentation de Dieu «sous forme de sphère» sera liée, après Barthélemy, à la «froideur de Dieu».

97. Sourates 4: 169 et 5: 19, 77.

98. On trouve cette même description chez Ibn Hishâm, op. cit., p. 269, à l'exception de la catégorie des calomniateurs. Voir également la description détaillée de l'enfer dans le *Libro della scala*, p. 154 sq.

99. Dans la pensée orthodoxe grecque, notamment dans la littérature eschatologique et dans la polémique à l'adresse de l'islam, Mahomet fut considéré comme le précurseur de l'Antichrist, puis comme l'Antéchrist en personne. Voir A. Argyriou, op. cit. Mais cette image de Mahomet-Antichrist fut cultivée en Occident également. Voir Ph. Sénac, *L'image de l'autre*, Paris 1983.

100. Aucun concile orthodoxe ni aucun empereur n'ont jamais anathématisé la religion musulmane. L'anathème prononcé contre le Dieu ὁλόσφυρος dont parle notre auteur se réfère à la querelle théologique qui avait jadis opposé l'empereur Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180) au patriarche de Constantinople Théodose (1178-1183) au sujet de l'un des articles de l'*Abjuration de l'islam* que chaque musulman converti au christianisme devait réciter. L'article dont l'empereur demandait la suppression dit en substance: «Καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀναθεματίζω τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Μωάμεθ, περὶ οὗ λέγει ὅτι αὐτὸς θεὸς εἷς, θεὸς ὁλόσφυρος, οὐκ ἐγέννησεν οὐδὲ ἐγεννήθη, οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ὅμοιος αὐτῷ τις» (cf. sourate CXII). Cet épi-

sode est relaté par Nicétas Choniatès: PG, CXXXIX, 564-565. Pour le texte du *Rituel d'abjuration*, voir A. Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam*, Münster 1966, p. 187-194 (la bibliographie est à compléter). A. Argyriou, *Éléments biographiques...*, p. 174-178.

101. Voir la reproduction du f. 270[r]. Nous n'avons pas pu savoir si ces représentations schématiques de la Sainte-Trinité ont été empruntées ailleurs ou élaborées par notre auteur. Quant aux quatre images employées, les deux premières figurent dans de nombreux textes anti-islamiques ou anti-latins. Voir en particulier: *Dialexis du moine Euthymios*, PG, CXXXI, 20-37. *Lettre d'Aréthas*, dans «Byzantion» XXIX-XXX (1960) 296-297. Pseudo-Gennadios: PG, CLX, 320-332. Voir également les images populaires employées par Anastasios Gordios dans son *Sur Mahomet et contre les Latins* (A. Argyriou, op. cit.) et par saint Cosmas d'Étolie dans ses *Homélies* (A. Argyriou, *Spirituels néo-grecs*, Namur 1967, p. 80-82).

102. La tradition musulmane n'est pas unanime sur le nombre des femmes de Mahomet. Pour Tabarî, Mas'ûdî et Abû l-Fidâ, le prophète aurait épousé quinze femmes; Ibn Hishâm lui en attribue treize; Bukhârî dit qu'à sa mort Mahomet avait neuf femmes. Parmi les Byzantins, Barthélemy attribue à Mahomet dix femmes et seize concubines. Parmi les Occidentaux, Prideaux écrit (p. 135): «Ceux qui lui en donnent le moins, conviennent qu'il en épousa quinze, mais d'autres en comptent vingt et une». J. Gagnier donne à Mahomet le nombre de vingt-six femmes en y comptant les femmes convoitées et les concubines. À noter également que selon une tradition musulmane rapportée par Abû l-Fidâ, le nombre des femmes du prophète serait de vingt-six.

103. Les renseignements de notre auteur s'accordent avec ceux que donne la tradition musulmane.

104. Sur la culotte de Fatima voir ci-devant, notes 71 et 72. Sur la vénération de Fatima par les musulmans, voir l'article *Fatima*, dans EI^2.

105. On lit cette même expression chez Bukhârî, op. cit., III, 240.

106. Nous n'avons pas pu repérer l'existence, ni même le titre, de l'original français. Sa traduction italienne se trouve à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et au British Museum sous le titre: *Viaggi fatti nell'Egitto superiore et inferiore, nel monte Sinay et luoghi più cospicui di quella regione in Gerusalemme, Giudea... quello della Meka e del sepolcro di Mahometto... opera del signor Gabrielle Brémond... da lui scritta in francese, et fatta tradurre in italiano, data in luce da Giuseppe Corvo....* in Roma, per P. Moneta, 1679. Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas pu consulter cet ouvrage et voir si notre auteur reste fidèle aux descriptions données par Brémond. Nous laissons donc ce récit sans le commenter.

107. Pour l'application à l'Islam des chapitres XIII et XIV d'Isaïe, voir A. Argyriou, *Les Exégèses grecques...*, p. 317-319, 485 et 550.

108. Les textes bibliques qu'évoque l'auteur de cette note finale, sont ceux-là mêmes auxquels se référaient tous les théologiens et tous les prédicateurs qui s'opposaient à une interprétaion «historique» et «nationale» de l'eschatologie chrétienne. Voir A. Argyriou, op. cit.

AN EVIDENCE OF SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE FROM PREHISTORIC CRETE

Long time ago, prof. Hall, studying the relations of the Aegean with the Egyptian prehistoric art, referred to the similarities and differences between the Cretan and Egyptian wall-paintings saying, «and though we might see a resemblance between the wall-paintings of the two lands, this resemblance is really a superficial one, and does not imply any particular influence of the one art upon the other, since the technical processes were different in the two countries. The Minoan technique of wall-painting was not of Egyptian origin». A little bit further, prof. Hall added, «it is of course not impossible that the original inspiration of the aegean fresco-painting was derived from Egypt, but its method was indigenous».[1]

So, as for the process of each technique of the fresco-paintings in both countries, we have nothing to add after what is stated above by prof. Hall. And of the origin, it is not at all impossible to have been inspired from Egypt due to the long interconnections between the two civilizations since the early dynastic eras up to the New Empire period.[2]

Our paper's aim is to study another aspect of similarity and difference of the wall-paintings in both countries, i.e. in prehistoric Egypt and Crete. This aspect is the rendering of the human faces and their direction from the observer. Are they always in profile without any exceptions? or are there some few and very rare cases where we can find frontal «en face» figures with their faces, and sometimes their bodies too,[3] towards us?

1. H.R. Hall, «The Relations of Aegean with Egyptian Art», JEA, I (1911), pp. 197-206.

2. For a general survey of these relations from the earliest times up to the end of the Saïte dynasty, c. 525 B.C., with an up to date bibliography, see the Ph. D. diss. of M.I. Elsaadani, Graeco-Egyptian Relations in the Light of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing Plastic Figures found on Greek Sites: 945-525 B.C., Athens 1982, (in Modern Greek), pp. 29-37, 191-195.

3. See, e.g., C. Aldred, Egyptian Art in the Days of the Pharaohs: 3100-320 B.C., London 1980, p. 165, fig. 129, a scene from Rekhmire tomb at Western Thebes (c. 1430 B.C.) with a brilliant three-quarter rear view of one of the three servants, upper right. Here we cannot see, of course, her face except only in profile.

Our object from Crete is usually called «The Jewel Fresco».[4] It is found in the Magazine of the Vase Tablets in royal palace of Knosssos and is dated, by his excavator, to the Middle Minoan III b period, c. 1600-1500 B.C., which roughly coincides with the end of the Hyksos era and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt.[5]

Whatever is the subject of this small fresco piece, whether it is an end of a necklace with a pendant in the shape of a negro head or it represents something else, we are interested here only in its orientation, i.e. its frontal position having its face this way and not in profile as it is usually done throughout all the long history of the Minoan wall-paintings.

This figure (fig. 2 a,b) is the only, as far as I know, frontal drawing of a human face from Prehistoric Crete of the first half of the sixteenth century B.C.All men and women faces in painting found in Crete and dated to the 16th - 14th cent. B.C. are only depicted in profile.[6]

But what about the other arts in Crete during the same period? Does this rare tendancy of representing and depicting the figures' faces in frontal views exist, with the same very limited scale, in the arts of the seal engravers and the other media as it is in fresco paintings? This is so, because, as we know, there was a close relationship between the fresco painters and those of other arts or they themselves decorated other media, e.g. vases or ivory, etc., since they had the lead in the artistic fashions of that time.[7]

The earliest attempt done by a Cretan artist to draw a frontal view for a face was that of a cat[8] on a three sided cornelian seal, which is probably dated to M.M.IIB-IIIA, c. 1800-1600 B.C.[9] Here we can note the profile view of all the

4. S.A. Evans, Knossos Fresco Atlas, with catalogue of Plates by M. Cameron and S. Hood (Farnborough Gregg Press 1967), plate 8, fig. 2; Evans, The Palace of Minos, I, p. 525 f, fig. 383; P.M., II, pp. 682, 817 f; P.M.III, pp. 50, 485 f; P.M., IV, pp. 285, 518; S. Hood, The Arts in Prehistoric Greece (The Pelican History of Art), England 1978, pp. 75, 194, fig. 190 and R.A. Higgins, Greek and Roman Jewellery, London: Methuen 1961, p. 64, fig. II.

5. S.A. Evans, P.M., Index Volume, London 1936, p. 52. The above relative date is based on the chronological table of S. Hood, The Minoans, London 1971, p. 10. Also it can be dated to the «Νεοανακτορικὴ περίοδος» = 1700-1400 B.C. according to the new system recently put by N. Platon, see Σ. Ἀλεξίου, Μινωικὸς Πολιτισμός, ἔκδοσις τρίτη, Ἡράκλειον, pp. 9-10 for an approximate placement of Evans system embodied in the new absolute one, where this «New Palatial» period is containing M.M.III, L.M.I. and L.M.II with all their subdivisions.

6. S. Hood, The Arts in Prehistoric Greece, p. 69 a-f.

7. Ibid., p. 47; E.H. Hall, The Decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age, Philadelphia 1907, p. 41 f. And cf. P. Schachermeyr, Die ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands, Stuttgart 1955, p. 225.

8. For a new interpretation of this figure as a goddess is given by M. Elsaadani, «Οἱ αὐγυπτιακές θεότητες στὴν.Κρήτη πρό τοῦ 525 π.Χ.» (not yet published), in the 5th International Congress of Cretan Studies, Agios Nikolaos 25.9-1.10.81.

9. Hood, The Arts in Prehistoric Greece, p. 216, fig. 214.

body, except the chest and the forelegs, which break seriously the rules of prospective. The artist cared very much, where necessary, for the clear and complete outline of the figure. Such an adaptation of the figure's parts for a clear outline had not been practised by another artist drawing a man's face on an amethyst disc-shaped seal, c. 1600-1500 B.C.[10] We presume that the last artist did not do that because he was highly convinced that the profile view was the best way for rendering and representing all the human features.[11]

It is noteworthy that all frontal views of faces belong either to a human-being or to an animal of an inferior (social) rank or a special significance in the Cretan's, and later in the Mycenaean's life or belief of that time. The Mycenaean, who inherited many minoan things,[12] drew the lion's face in most cases in a frontal view on his signets and seals,[13] in spite of representing its body, as usually done, in profile, exactly on the contrary of human being's depictions with their trunk in frontal views and their faces in profile. In painting, in both Prehistoric Egypt and Crete, as we can conclude from the below survey, *the frontal views never belong to persons of high social ranks in their communities.* It is impossible, of course, to give a definite or sure answer for a question, that may arise then, viz «Why do we exclude important persons' figures from being in frontal views?». If we have to try approaching an answer for such a question, we can say, for the moment, that that thing was perhaps due to the specific tradition, which formed the painting rules. This matter becomes clearer studying the following examples.

In a life size painted plaster relief, usually called «Priest King Fresco»,[14] from Knossos and dated perhaps to L.M.Ia, c. 1550, we can obviously see that the figure's trunk is represented in a frontal view, though we may safely imagine him or her, because the head is missing, looking towards the left side. Characteristics, which are well known from the endless «repertorio» of the Egyptian painting.[15]

This tendency of depicting all human faces in profile apart from the frontal view of their trunks, can easily be traced in other Minoan examples. First, e.g., let

10. Ibid., p. 224, fig. 226.

11. Cf. another seal with a profile of man's head from Knossos before c. 1450 B.C., see, e.g., Hood. ibid. p. 225, fig. 227 right.

12. For the mutual influences between Minoan and Mycenaean world in painting, see the most recent reference of Hood, op.cit., pp. 226-232. But, specificly about the movement and prospective in the frescoes of Pylos, see Tzavella-Evjen. X., «Movement and Prospective on the Pylos Frescoes», Ist International Mycenaeological Congress: Premycenaean and Mycenaean Pylos, Athens, 8-11 December 1980.

13. S. Hood, op.cit., p. 225, fig. 228b, c. 1550-1400; p. 226, fig. 229, c. 1450 and from Crete, ibid., p. 230, fig. 235b, c. 1400.

14. P.M.II, pp. 685, 774-790, colour plate XIV; B.S.A., VII (1900-1), pp. 14-16; Ibid., X (1903-4), p.2.

15. S. Hood, op.cit., p. 76.

us begin with a priestess figure from the Akrotiri on Thera, c. 1550.[16] Secondly, the same basic element of painting a human face can be noticed in the miniature fresco also from the Akrotiri on Thera, which is dated to L.M.Ia, c. 1550,[17] and all its figures are drawn according to the same method mentioned previously.

But right after c. 1450 B.C., i.e. after the conquest of Crete by Greek people from the mainland Greece, new and significant artistic changes had taken place in the Cretan rendering and drawing scenes according to the taste of the conquerers. S. Hood referred to this new aspect saying, «Processions and scenes in registers on the Egyptian model, and no doubt originally inspired by those of Egypt, are now very much in evidence in the frescoes of Crete as of the mainland».[18]

Starting from the cup-bearer fresco, c. 1450, and passing through the camp stool frieze small figures of men, c. 1400, we reach the sarcophagus of Agia Triada, c. 1400, where we can note clearly the Egyptian style of drawing these figures in registers on one hand, and in profile views on the other hand. The finest and earliest life-sized fresco figures of the new Egyptian style paintings are those of the corridor of the procession, that leads from the West Entrance of the palace at Knossos.[19] These earliest paintings are dated by S. Hood to the L.M.Ib, c. 1450, on stylistic grounds,[20] a date, that coincides with the visit of the Keftiu to the New Empire Egypt, during the 18th Dynasty, in the reign of Thutmosis III, as witness their wall-drawings from the five Theban tombs, which are dated to the middle of the 15th century B.C. These Keftiu are the Mycenaean Aegeans in the Mediterranean sea during that period of their zenith of power.[21] That is to say that these new, to the cretan artistic conceptions, tendencies of drawing the human figures, in that way mentioned above, were inspired, partly, by such a visit to Egypt nearly at the same time of their first appearance in Crete and all over the Mycenaean world. This is, then, an evidence of similarity between the two prehistoric arts of these two ancient civilizations.

Also, the same thing can be said concerning the Cretan (or Mycenaean) tendency of not preferring the frontal views in painting. As we know, such frontal views are very rare in the Egyptian painting as well. Because, after a very carefull

16. Thera, V, plate E, 94; Marinatos-Hirmer, Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas, Munich 1973, note 51, p. 57, plate 150.

17. Thera, VI, pp. 23f, 38 ff, plates 7-9; Cf. A.A.A., VI (1973), pp. 289-92, colour plate a; A.A.A., VII (1974), pp. 87-94; Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας (1972), p. 105, fig. 100.

18. Op.cit., p. 65; W.S. Smith, Interconnections in the Ancient Near East, New Haven 1965, pp. 73, 129 ff, 173.

19. S. Hood, op.cit., p. 65: P.M., II, pp. 719-736.

20. Op.cit., pp. 58, 65-66.

21. For a recent interpretation of Keftiu as Aegeans only, see A. Ζώης, Μαθήματα Ἀρχαιολογίας, Ἀθήνα 1980, pp. 54-70, plate 2.

and patient trace through the wide repertory of the Egyptian art, I could find only four (4) faces represented as if seen from the front. Two of them in one scene from the tomb of Neb-amun, c. 1356 B.C.,[22] belong to musicians entertaining guests (fig. 1). The third is playing guitar,[23] while the fourth is sitting and beating time with her hands, having all her body in a frontal view as well, and not only her face and trunk.[24]

Though I can not claim now that these are the only examples from the Egyptian side, yet they do not betray our result that the Egyptian tendency towards painting frontal «en face» human figures is really very rare, if that is compared to the enormous and extravagantly rich «repertorio» of the ancient Egyptian paintings. So, this rarity here is attested also there in the Cretan, contemporary to the Egyptian, wall-paintings and consequently can be considered as an evidence of similarity.

What is then the evidence of difference between the unique Cretan example for an «en face» wall-painting of a human figure and the other examples referred to from the Egyptian side?

If we note carefully the face of the Cretan negro head (fig. 2) and compare it, for instance, with those of the Egyptian examples (fig. 1), we will find that, though they share the same square scheme for their outline (i.e. both take an egg-shaped form), the Cretan face is rendered more naturally than the Egyptian ones. The second different feature is obviously seen in the ear-rings shapes, that they wear.[25] For a triple ear-ring is never worn by an Egyptian woman, something we have here with the negro-head pendant.[26] Also, the most important thing is that the Cretan face, being interpreted as a pendant for a necklace of beads, must be considered as a very rare prototype, made by a Cretan painter with a sensitive and widely creative imagination. In the Egyptian jewellery of the pharaohs, we often find the Hat-hor face as a part of a big pendant or pectoral, since the Middle Kingdom,[27] or even earlier but with the goddess «Bat» in the form of the cow-eared face of a woman wearing curving horns on her head.[28] None of these were used as a microscopic pendant in a bead necklace,[29] as we find the Cretan example.

22. C. Aldred, Egyptian Art, p. 176, fig. 141.

23. S. Birch, The Ancient Egyptians, I, p. 441, No. 216.

24. Ibid., p. 440, No. 213.

25. For good and detailed picture for the ear-rings of fig. I, see C. Aldred, Jewels of the Pharaohs, coloured plate, Nr. 67.

26. Ibid., Nr. 68.

27. Ibid., p. 44, fig. 25-26.

28. Ibid., pp. 146-147, fig. 31.

29. Cf. C. Aldred, ibid., Nr. 47 for the bead necklaces of the Middle Kingdom and plate 86 for the temporal examples of the queens of Thutmosis III, from Thebes.

Consequently, the Cretan negro-head pendant, or the so-called «Jewel Relief Fresco», represents a very good example of little similarity and deep difference between the Egyptian and the Creto-Mycenaean wall-paintings of the middle of the 15th century B.C.

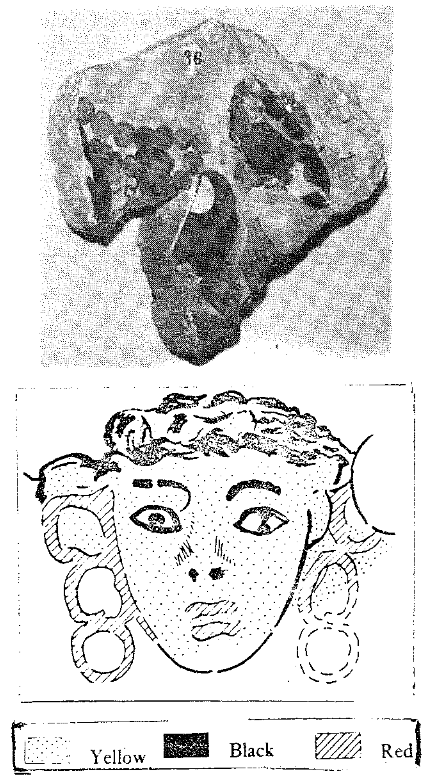
Mahmoud I. Elsaadani



Fig. 1: Wall-painting from the tomb of Neb-amun at Western Thebes with a scene of musicians entertaining guests (upper row) at a meal, c. 1356 B.C. (British Museum, no. 37984).

(a)

(b)



the Jewel fresco from Knossos, Crete.

Fig. 2: (a) The real piece of fresco, photographed.
(b) A drawing of the Face only. Crete, Heraklion Museum
Date: MM. III b.

ALEXANDRIA AND DISTRICT OF MAREOTIS

Rhakotis, an Egyptian garrison settlement, is mentioned as prealexandrian, and later included into the Ptolemaic capital.[1] Generally not much attention was paid to the fact that the area had a very long history, as a densely populated, and well cultivated «Land of Olives» - Tehenu, or the old Kingdom of Harpoon with its own administrative centre in Graeco-Roman time called Marea, located somewhere south-west of Alexandria at the southern side of Lake Mareotis. The area was a famous producer of olives and wine.[2] The fact of the settlement being so densely populated affected the later economical structure of Alexandria - a crucial international trade center of the Graeco-Roman period. The Lake Mareotis by itself was a very important part of the districts economy, first of all by means of transportation with all the special harbours located around its coasts. Alexandria also had a lake port called Mareotic, linking the city directly with its southern, and western environments.[3] Strabo wrote «The site (Alexandria) is washed by two seas, on the north by what is called the Egyptian Sea, and on the south, by the sea of the Lake Marea, which is also called Mareotis. The lake is filled by many canals from the Nile, both those above, and those at the sides, through which a greater quantity of merchandise is imported than by those communicating with the sea. Hence the harbour on the lake is richer than the maritime harbour» (Strabo XVII, 1, 7). Therefore there is no doubt that this particular harbour was of basic importance for the existence and prosperity of the city. According to several interpretations there was a lake harbour close to the prealexandrian settlement of Rhakotis, and therefore possibly of older origin than the great city itself, but we also know of

1. A. Adriani, Repertorio D'Arte Dell' Egitto Greco-Romano, Serie C, Palermo 1966, p. 283; P.M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria Oxford 1972, p. 144.

2. Mahmoud-Bey el Falaki, Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie, Copenhague 1872, p. 89 ff; E. Breccia, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum, Bergamo 1922, s. 24 ff; Anthony de Cosson, Mareotis, London 1935; Adriani, Repertorio, op.cit.

3. Strabo XVII, 1, 10 «Next after the Heptastadium in the harbour of Eunostus, and above this the artificial harbour, called Cibotus /or the ark/, which also has docks. At the bottom of this harbour is a navigable canal, extending to the lake Mareotis». The canal could exist only until the land slide set off by the tremendous earthquakes of 365 or 535 A.D., otherwise the lake would be flooded by sea water, like in 1801. See Cosson op.cit., p. 86-89.

other harbours located along the canal.[4] Therefore it is quite possible that the Mareotic harbour in Alexandria served not only for the communication through the lake, but also, by means of the canals, with the Nile and the rest of the country.[5] However the direct connection between the lake and the Alexandria canal, and through it with the maritime harbour is not clear in the sources, leaving large spaces for controversial speculations.[6] According to Omar Toussun's researches the lake in antiquity was reaching as far as Kom el Througa to the south, and El Bardan to the west, while nowadays it is much more shorter, shallower, and mostly salty.[7] However during the Mediaeval times the area of the ancient lake was dry, and all the districts around, once prosperous, were deserted. Now it is appropriate to discuss the several aspects of the regions history in the light of new archaeological information.

Along the western arm of Lake Mareotis there are several harbours partly preserved till now. The most fascinating one is in the town identified as Marea - capital of the district. The other one is in Taposiris Magna.[8] Along the shores there also exist the remains of several other ports of smaller size.[9] We may guess that they similarly were built as the lake harbour in Alexandria, which later vanished completely. However we can not still be sure about that because none of the mentioned harbours can be attributed to the Ptolemaic period, but to the late Roman times.[10] It seems that there existed two types of harbours on the lake. The first one would be similar to the Taposiriac - a closed form with a long dyke and a bridge, the second one is open with several quays extending far into the lake, forming half open basins of the port. The second form of harbour is now represented by the remains of it in the so called Marea harbour.[11] Besides these two major types, there also exist traces of two smaller harbours located on promontories, and islands on the lakes, usually with one quay extending into the lake,

4. Adriani, Repertorio, op.cit., p. 212 ff; Fraser, op.cit.

5. Separate canals from main Schedia Canal, which run to Alexandria on its own level. See Cosson, Mareotis, op.cit., p. 81.

6. Vide note 3.

7. O. Toussun, Mémoire sur l' Histoire du Nil. Inst. d' Égypte, Cairo 1925.

8. Mahmoud-Bey el Falaki, op.cit. p. 96-97; Breccia, op.cit. p. 344; Cosson, op.cit. p. 110, 134; M. Sadek, The Ancient port of Marea. Cahiers des Etudes Anciennes. Québec /Canada/, VIII, 1978, p. 67 ff. Dr. Fawzi Fakharani, the excavator of Marea, presented the site several times in Alexandria. Part of the material is expected to appear in Aegyptiaca Traverensia, vol. 2.

9. The remains are not recorded till now, known to a small group of people only. Dr. Fakharani informed me that he found another harbour of old Marea.

10. Based on my personal observations of the structures, and surface artifacts. The first one who mentioned late date of the lake harbours in Marea and Taposiris Magna was P.M. Fraser, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 146.

11. M. Sadek, The Ancient Port of Marea, op.cit. pl. I; Cosson, op.cit. p. 110 and 134.

being reduced copies of the harbour in Marea. It is possible that one of these two harbour types was similar to the Portus Mareoticus of Alexandria. Unfortunately when some of the constructions still existed on the shores of the southern districts of Alexandria during the last century they were not recorded properly, and now the Marea harbour is the major and sole information about the local lake ports. However there are still many questions connected with the location, and chronology of Marea, once a capital of the Mareotic nome.[12] From the archaeological point of view the land around the lake is still little known, despite the fact that many ancient ruins are visible on the surface. During the last century primary attention was paid to the 19-metres high tower, identified as the copy of the Alexandrian Lighthouse of Pharos, called by Bedouins Burg el Arab, rather than to the temple of Osiris in Abu Sir, ancient Taposiris Magna, attributed to early Ptolemaic period. Even less attention was paid to the Christian site of Abu Mena, located in the desert, south of Burg el Arab, and to the ruins of a large town at the southern side of lake Mareotis, identified first by Mahmoud Bey el Falaki in 1866 as Marea. The first excavations of this place, located ca 45 km. south-west of Alexandria, executed in 1977-1981 by Alexandrian University, were led by Dr. Fawzi Fakharani.[13] They brought to light ancient streets and several buildings around them. Installations of the lake harbour were visible before, but they needed some cleaning also. The identification of the excavated material is confusing however from the chronological point of view, because the structures can be attributed to the byzantine period only, while according to Maqurizi, Marea was still active and had some economical importance to Alexandria at the end of the XIIIth century, and it also had a long history before that time.[14] Anthony de Cosson, the monographer of the district suggests that the town declined shortly after the Turkish conquest of Egypt in 1517 «when Alexandria itself declined so much».[15] However in another place, Cosson is linking the decay of the whole land with the decline of the production of high quality wines, so famous in the whole Mediterranean, as a result of the Arabic conquest.[16]

12. The ruins of a port in the neighbourhood of the village Huwariya were identified as Marea firstly by Mahmoud-Bey el Falaki, op.cit. p. 96, and followed by E. Breccia, op.cit. p. 337, A. Cosson, op.cit., F. Fakharani, and M. Sadek, op.cit. The inhabitants of Huwariya also called the ruins «Marea».

13. The excavations were located in numerous parts of the port, town, and necropolis close to the lake. Several other digs were executed 2.5-3.5 km. south of the town on the highland, where two wine factories, two large houses, and one underground tomb were unearthed. The Egyptian Antiquities Organisation have recently launched a project of protective works there.

14. Cosson, Mareotis, op.cit. p. 19-59; M. Sadek, op.cit.; F. Fakharani, Aegyptiaca Traverensia, vol. 2 / in press /.

15. Cosson, Mareotis, op.cit. p. 61, 134.

16. Cosson, op.cit. p. 69.

Ancient documents prove the existence of Marea as the largest, most important town, and a capital of the region before the foundation of Alexandria. The town was of great military value against the Libyans. So wrote about it Herodotus during the times of Psametic I (664-610 B.C.).[17] Diodorus mentioned that Pharaoh Amazis emerged from this town, and Thucydides describes king Enaros as successfully fighting the Persians from Marea.[18] So the town should have had a remarkable military position and installations. The strategical position of Marea in the eyes of Mahmoud el Falaki was advantageous. Falaki wrote that «the site of these ruins denotes an important strategical point... it is the key of Egypt on the African side just as Pelusium is the key on the Asiatic side. The valley of the lake is almost closed, its width is less than one kilometre and there are traces of ancient fortifications alongside of it».[19] Mr. M. Sadek wrote recently that «Strategically Marea was the main garrison town of northern Egypt whose main purpose was to ward off any incursions from Libya».[20]

All these informations are correct historically, but they do not fit very well to the place pointed now as Marea. From the military point of view its position is located off the main route from the West into the Delta, and not blocking it. Configuration of the terrain suggests that during the floods of the Nile the site was cut off from the land, and temporarily transformed into an island. Nowadays there do not exist any constructions of pure military character as Falaki suggested, and in fact the ruins are located along the lakeside on a very long distance without any traces of city walls. All of the preserved structures can not be dated earlier than the fifth century A.D.

The plan of the excavated buildings and harbour fit very closely to the description of the site called Philoxenité in the text of the Coptic encomium on St. Menas: «In the time of the Emperor Anastasius (491-518) pious zeal inspired the heart of the Praetorian Prefect since he too heard of the wonders and miracles wrought by the holy Apa Mena. Furthermore, he saw the hardships endured by the many multitudes when coming to his shrine. When they left the lake and entered the desert there, they found no resting-place or water till they reached the holy shrine. The prefect built hospices by the lake, and resthouses for the multitudes to stay at. Among them he had the market-place established where the multitudes might find, and buy all they needed. He had spacious depositories constructed where the multitudes could leave their clothes and baggage and everything that they brought to the shrine. When it was all finished he gave its name Philoxenité».[21]

17. Herodotus II, 149.
18. Diodorus I, 68; Thucydides I, 104.
19. Mahmoud-Bey el Falaki, Mémoire, op.cit. p. 97.
20. M. Sadek, The Ancient Port of Marea, op.cit. p. 68.
21. J. Drescher, Topographical notes for Alexandria and District, BSA Alex., 38, 1949, p. 15-16.

Drescher does not locate Philoxenité on the western arm of the lake, but on shores of the main basin, somewhere close to Kom el Througa, because the same prefect ordered to built water stations every ten miles, between this site and the holy shrine.[22] So the route through desert was long. But the fact is that between Marea and Abu Mena there could only be one place for a station because the distance from the lake to the sanctuary, ca 20 km, is too short to built more of them. Amazingly the text suggests a chaise of a longer desert road from the main basin of Mareotis, instead of the shorter one from its western arm. The difference (around 10-15 km) is remarkable, specially for the sick pilgrims. Therefore it should have been more reasonable to choose the shortest way from the western arm of the lake. The so-called now Marea was offering a shorter country road around 20 km. long, while from the main basin the distance was longer, ca 30-35 km.

However the ruins of the supposed Marea fit very well to the descriptions of Philoxenité, and what is very important also fit well to its chronology. There we observe a regular dislocation of ruins, and the excavated buildings around the harbour are proving a well planed urbanistic unit with no traces of evolutionary stages or major rebuildings. The wide streets are paved along them, there are houses and shops, a water supply systém, three public baths, a very large public lavatory aside the public grounds (probably a market place), and a very convenient harbour with three jetties extending as far as 64, 109 and 150 metres into the lake.

However no store-houses were found till now around the port. Its termination is remarkable too, because the surface pottery offering the best chance to establish the terminus post quem for the site is limited to the seventh century. There are mostly sherds of local products similar to those attributed to Abu Mena workshops, but among fine wares there are also numerous sherds of pottery from Upper Egypt accompanied by imported North African, and Cypriot wares, which were not imported into Egypt after the VIIth century A.D.[23] Until now no glazed pottery of later period was spotted on the site.[24] Therefore we may conclude that the so-called Marea terminated its function in the seventh, and not later than the early eighth century.

However the further existence of the Abu Mena shrine is confusing. In the year 1086 an Arab traveler, El Bakri, described the holy shrine as still existing, full

22. Drescher, op.cit. p. 16.
23. The pottery répertoire follows the patterns of the wares and forms at Kom el Dikka in Alexandria, and could be compared with the deposits from the decay period of public buildings / bath, waterhouse and the «theatre» /. See: M. Rodziewicz, La céramique Romaine tardive d'Alexandrie. Alexandrie I, Varsovie 1976.
24. The so-called Fayumi Wares, or Coptic Glazed Pottery of the VIIIth-IXth centuries. See M. Rodziewicz, La céramique émaillée Copte de Kom el Dikka. Études et Travaux, Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences, vol. X, 1978, p. 337-345.

of figures, paintings, and he wrote «All the land round about is planted with fruit trees which yield exellent fruit that is made into syrup; there are also many grapes grown for making wine».[25] The harbour of «Marea» which surely was receiving multitudes of pilgrims going to Abu Mena stopped to function long before the holy shrine was devastated. Therefore the question is why this site was abandoned so early.

From the point of view of the pottery there, not only the so-called Marea, but probably also the two smaller harbours in the neighbourhood were abandoned at the same time. It is remarkable that the firstly identified glazed pottery of the eighth to the tenth century was not located on the shores of the lake, but on the highland, about two and a half kilometres south of the lake. There they are dispersed along the several artificial hills containing some remains of rural settlements. One of them in the nowadays called Huwariya is of special interest. There are remains of a large villa rustica of the peristyle type there, which dates from the IV[th] till the early VII[th] century according to the floor finds, while the settlement located just behind it, was inhabited longer.[26] In this case we may draw a preliminary conclusion that the owner or the large byzantine estate who lived in the villa rustica abandoned it somewhere during the first half of the seventh century, while the whole population of the settlement around remained, cultivated the land, and buried their deceased according to the new Muslim customs, in individually constructed tombs, typologically parallel to the tombs of the so-called Lover Muslim Necropolis at Kom el Dikka in Alexandria, dated from the VIII[th] to the IX[th] century.[27] If as El Bakri wrote, Abu Mena was still functioning south of this site, and at least three of the till now checked hills in its neighbourhood were still inhabited, then I suppose a much larger portion of the highland was still inhabited up to the X[th] century. This I base according to the pottery studies in this region.[28]

However the same material suggests the termination of the lake harbours as occuring much earlier, including the decrease of the pilgrimage to Abu Mena, and economical contacts of the area with Alexandria across the lake. So there is still a question to be answered: why did the habitations on the highland prevail much longer than the ones at the lakesides? The difference between these two regions was formed most probably by the water. Influx of fresch water from the Nile diluted the salt in the lake, making it drinkable and useful for cultivation, while on

25. See Cosson op.cit. p. 136-138. Transl. Baron de Slane in Le Journal Asiatique, in 1858.

26. In the settlement a number of glazed sherds appeared along with a group of the tombs mentioned below, whereas around the wine-factory, glazed X[th] century pottery appears in regular layers, together with structures made of stone, and clay. It will be presented in a separate report on the restauration of the monuments in Huwariya, organized by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization in Cairo.

27. E. Promińska, Investigations on the Population of Muslim Alexandria. Warsaw 1972.

28. My personal survey from Huwariya till Bahig made in 1982.

the highland since generations the life depended mainly on the wells and rainwater collected in underground cisterns.[29] Therefore the decay of the harbours could have been caused by the lack of fresh Nile water.

This phenomenon can be hardly explained just now, at the beginning of a more systematical research in this area undertaken by the Egyptian Antiquity Organisation. However one fact is known: that the quantity of the water in the lake depended on the Nile floods, and the lake connections with the river, by means of the canals. In historical times the lake did not have a natural connection with the western branch of the river.[30] In the time of Strabo «This lake is filled by many canals from the Nile» (Strabo XVII 1, 7). It is very difficult to accept a concept that the easiest communication system offered by the lake terminated rapidly after Persian occupation, and Arab conquest of Egypt, simply by neglect of the canals. There could have also been other destructive factors as well.

It is known from modern history of Alexandria, that the lake and the canals around it were included into the military operations between the French and the British forces at the beginning of the last century. When the British forces flooded the already since Middle Ages dry lakebed, with the sea water on the 12[th] of April 1801, fourteen villages were destroyed, and the influx of fresh water to Alexandria by means of the canal was damaged also.[31]

The possibility of military operations through the water surrounding Alexandria from the south is very instructive for us, because it is proof that it was possible to flood the lake, as well as cut off the water supply from the Nile to the city. This point of view interestingly offers a possibility of blocking the so-called Dragon canal. This happened during the reign of Phocas and Heraclius, in the time of the military operations of the army led by the generals Nicetas and Bonōsus. Nicetas in order to gain a military position against Bonōsus ordered to break down a stone bridge of St. Peter at a place called Dafashir, near Mareotis, and blocked the canal.[32] Cutting off the waterway up to south, Nicetas gained a tactical advantageous position, but it is not excluded that he was also calculating more strategical results in the coming years, trying to eliminate the navigation possibilities, and gain control over the strategic town of Marea.[33]

If this damage, dated to 609 A.D., was not repaired in the following years, it then limited the influx of Nile waters into the lake, and could have been the first

29. Cosson, op.cit. p. 100 ff.

30. Proved by geological researches: see Cosson op.cit. p. 87.

31. Flooding begun 12 of April 1801. See Cosson, Mareotis op.cit. p. 88.

32. Information from John of Nikiou, Chronique, translated by Zotenberg, Paris 1883. See Cosson op.cit. p. 54.

33. I guess that the ancient Marea was located somewhere on the main basin of the lake, and close to the canals, because their control was of great military value.

cause of drying up the lake. The coming years were not prosperous also, because of the Persian destructions and occupation in 619-626, and their military operations in Pentapolis which went through Mareotis. All that was really disastrous and left the population around the lake frustrated, first of all because they could not use the lake harbours, just recently rebuilt after the sliding of the geological plateau, together with its older harbours, as a result of frequent earthquakes, a phenomenon, the traces of which can still be observed even now on the island east of Marea.[34] The closing of the canal linking the lake with the Nile, was a very important change in the water supply of the lake, and if it was continuous, it could have been one of the most important environmental factors challenging the existence of the lake navigation, and life in the area in general. Alexandria was affected as well by the lack of water in the lake, and lack of communication with all of its background supply by means of numerous lake harbours.

However we know that Alexandria was receiving some drinkable water from the Canopic canal, built aside, as we see it on many maps. Its existence in Mediaeval times is proved by numerous cisterns built in the city.[35] It was at least partially effective even after the Turkish conquest, when this canal was still able to conduct some fresh water once a year, during the flood of the Nile, while since the XIth or the XIIth century according to Cosson the lake was completely dry.[36] It also means that the lake depended upon another source of water located west of the Canopic and Alexandrian canals, and its existence was determining the fate of the lake, its harbours, and its environment.[37] This fact leads us to the conclusion which changes an important element of the topography of Alexandria, namely that there could not have been a direct connection between the lake and the Alexandrian canal, meaning between the Alexandrian Portus Mareoticus and the maritime Portus Eunostus.[38] Maybe this explains the contemporary existence of

34. On a small island linked by causeway with the promontory of the so-called Marea. There are two quays: the eastern one, sunken to the level of the lake's bottom bed, while the western one rises about two metres above it, just like the big quays in the town. Ancient sources mention up to eight inhabited islands on the lake.

35. Mon. Art Arabe, XV, 1898 / 1900 / p. 62, 81; E. Breccia, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum, Bergamo 1922, p. 80; A. Adriani, Repertorio, op.cit. p. 217; M. Rodziewicz, Alexandria vol. III, Chpt. III, 4.

36. Cosson, Mareotis op.cit. 62. He writes that it was the result of silting the «Canopic Nile», but in another place he writes that after flooding the lake with the sea water / 1801 /, in 1804 «the breach was repaired and the fresh water canal connected once more with Alexandria, to the joy of the inhabitants» / Cosson op.cit. p. 89 /. This proves the existence of the old Schedia canal or the Alexandrian one, in the time when the lake was completely dry. I guess that the «Canopic Nile» or the Schedia Canal did not condition the water level in Mareotic lake, but the south-eastern canals.

37. Those canals existing in various periods were: Nubariya / Cosson identified it with the Dragon Canal of John of Nikiou / Cosson op.cit. p. 53 ff /, El Asara canal, and a canal leading to Naukratis. Nubariya canal actually is the one also watering the fields in Huwariya.

38. Archaeologists accept the canal connection between Mareotis lake and Alexandria after Strabo / XCVII, 10 / «At the bottom of this harbour / Cibotus / is a navigable canal, extending to the lake Mareotis». It could be the last part of the Alexandria canal which is oriented south, toward the lake Mareotis, and most probably Strabo meant its orientation only, not the existence of another canal. Compare: A. Adriani, Repertorio, op.cit. Serie C, II, p. 227.

other harbours located along the Alexandrian canal beside Portus Mareoticus.[39]

From recent surveys of the terrain of the lake's western arm the excavated pottery indicates a termination of the lake harbours in the seventh century A.D. So we may start to look at this fact as the consequence of cutting off, or limiting of the water supply through the Dragon canal leading to the lowering of the water-level in the lake, during the time of the emperor Phocas. Because of the military confrontations between Nicetas and Bonōsus in Alexandria, and around Mareotic lake as well as the Persian occupation, and the following Arab conquest with all their consequences, it is very possible that there was not enough administrative power in Alexandria to clean, and open the so important Dragon canal again. In such a case the Alexandrian canal could serve as the main shipping line of goods from the Delta, while the Mareotis lost its harbours, and traditional water communication with tremendous economical consequences.[40] Therefore the already economically weakened large estates, an efficient producer of rural goods represented by the one excavated lately in Huwariya, lost their easy transportation to Alexandria, while smaller villages on the highland could exist longer,[41] but their economy dropped also to a lower level of self-sufficience, or a limited exchange of goods.

The fate of harbours in the western arm of the lake suggests also the end of the Portus Mareoticus in Alexandria. Furthermore all the southern, or south-western ports of Alexandria, particularly close to Rhakotis, started to loose their previous role as a major emporium and a market of goods from the Mareotis district. This could have been one of the reasons why the new city walls of the IXth century Alexandria departed from this district far to the north, surrounding only a part of the ancient town related with the maritime harbours.[42] This was the moment when Alexandria departed from the so pleasant, economically vivid and recreational background base on the lake, once rich in so many kinds of fish, water

39. Adriani, op.cit. p. 237.

40. We do not know whether or how effective the other canals in the VIIth cent. were, only that closing one of them would lower the lake's water level.

41. Floor finds. Compare notes: 23, 24, 26.

42. Walls built by Ibn Tulun were constructed around a smaller area, and survived partly till the 19th century. From the seven known gates two corresponded to the ancient ones. A new Muslim town was built with oriental style structures. The ancient orientation of the streets still prevailed, for even in the 15th century the governor of Alexandria wrote that the city reminded him of a chess-board. See: The Travels of Ibn Jubair. Ed. Wright-de Goeje, 1907, p. 40-43; P. Kahle, Die Katastrophe des Mittelalterlichen Alexandria, Mélanges Maspéro, III, Le Caire 1940, p. 18 ff.

birds, and such animals like hippopotamus, with many inhabited islands, depicted on the famous mosaic from Palestrina.[43] This happened as the result of complex historical events which were already developing before the Arab conquest of Egypt. Popular opinion still maintaines that the Arab conquest gave the final blow to its economy, specially due to the prohibition of wine consumption. However it seems to be more possible that the silting of ancient canals out of supply of fresh Nile water to the lake Mareotis radically changed the once prosperous cultivation of the land. However the new government which settled far away in the new capital of Fustat, was not able to reconstruct the navigable waterways around Alexandria, and revive its fertile background. Alexandria lost its place as the first town of Egypt, as well as the country's major port. The unconserved canals which linked Alexandria with the Nile's arm ceased to be navigational already in the IXth century or earlier, and the Caliph Al-Mutawakhil ordered to extend the port El-Rashid (old Rosetta) on the western arm of the Nile which then became the major port of Egypt up until the 19th century. As a matter of fact the whole life of ancient and Mediaeval Alexandria depended mostly on artificial canals, linking her with a Nile. Therefore upon reviving the city in the 19th century Muhammed Ali immediately ordered the reducing of the old Alexandrian canal, now called the Mahmoudiya canal.[44]

Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz

43. Museo Archeologico Municipale, Palestrina. See E. Breccia, Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine, I, Bergamo 1930, pl. VII, 1.

44. E. Breccia, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum, Bergamo 1922, p. 18-20.

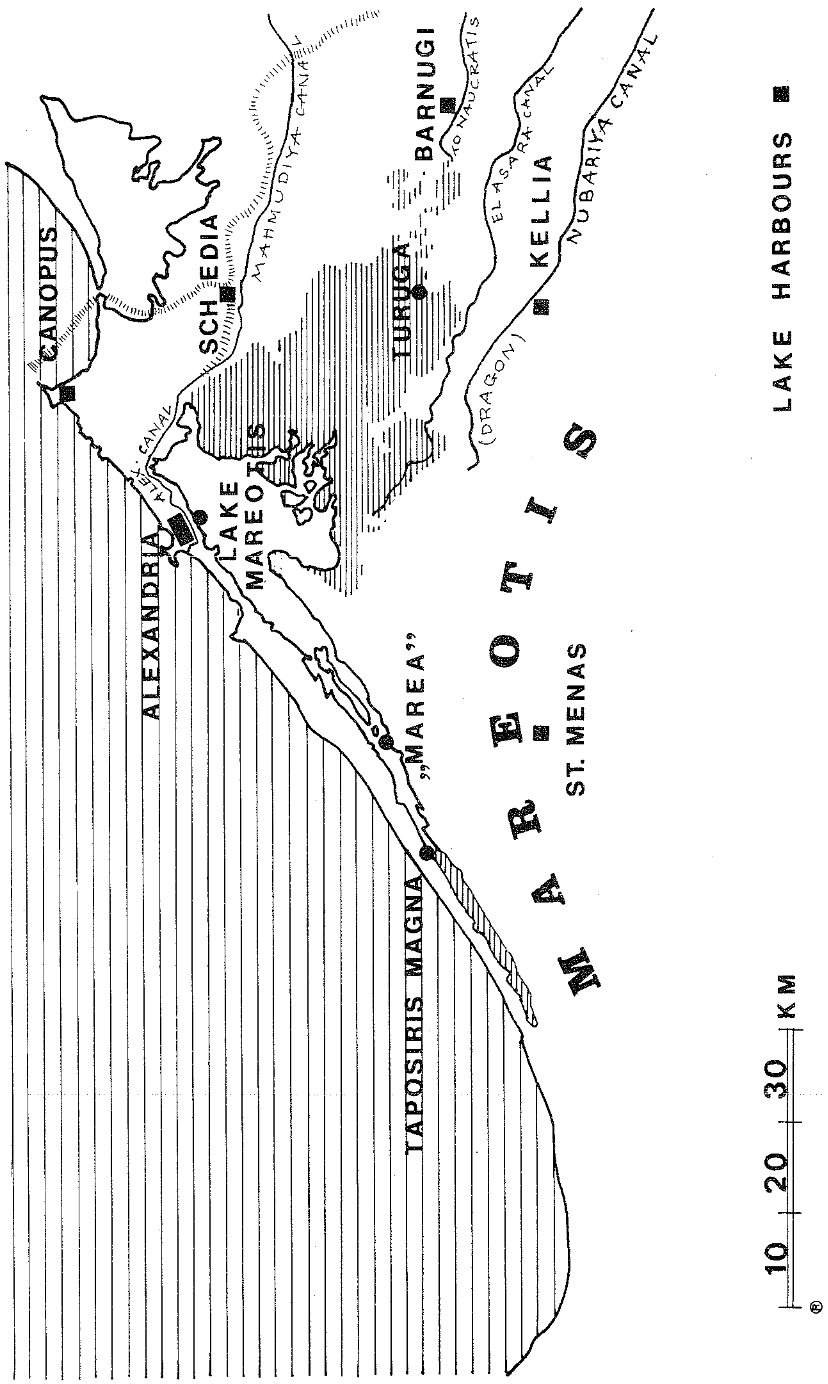


Fig. 1. Mareotic District. (drawn by M. Rodziewicz).

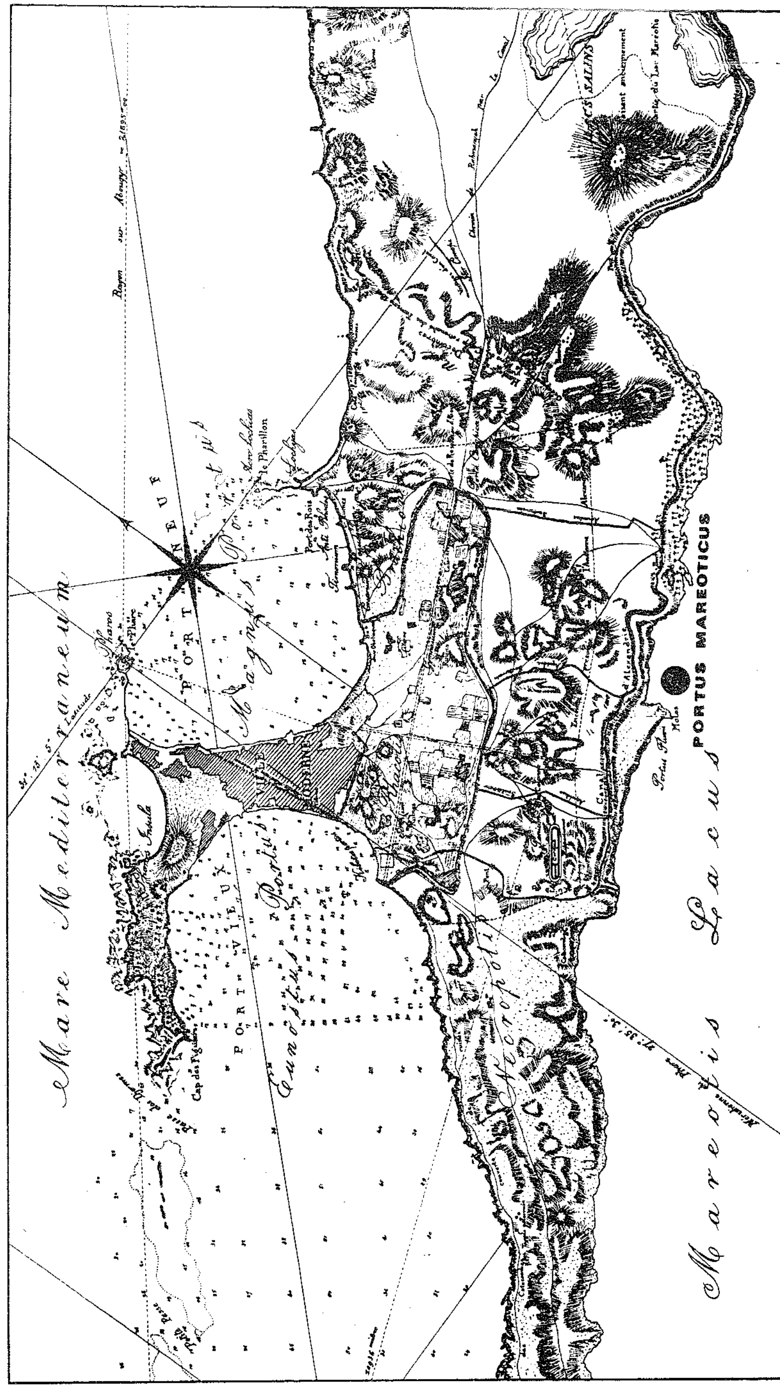


Fig. 2. Plan of Alexandria (time of French Expedition).



Fig. 3. Funerary monument, so-called Burg el Arab in Taposiris Magna (Abu Sir) seen from S. On the first plan dromos and the tomb.



Fig. 4. Taposiris Magna. Bridge of the Harbour. View from S.-W.

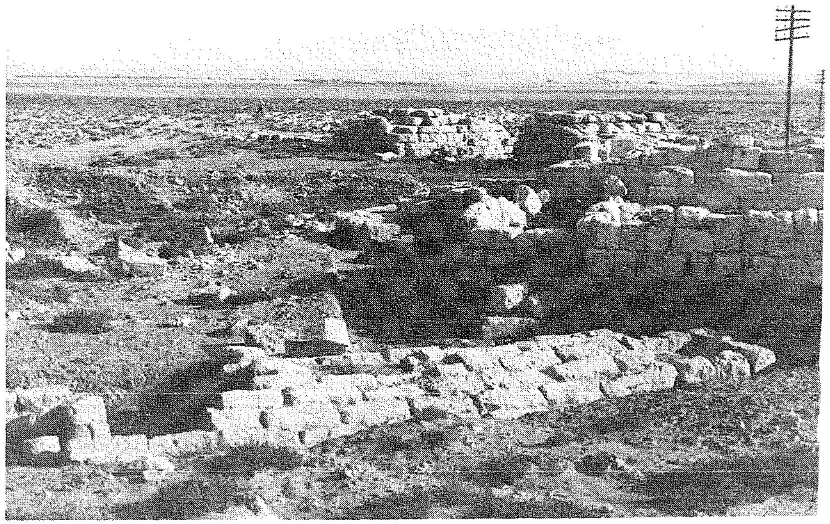


Fig. 5. Taposiris Magna. Harbour. Stores and bridge. View from N.

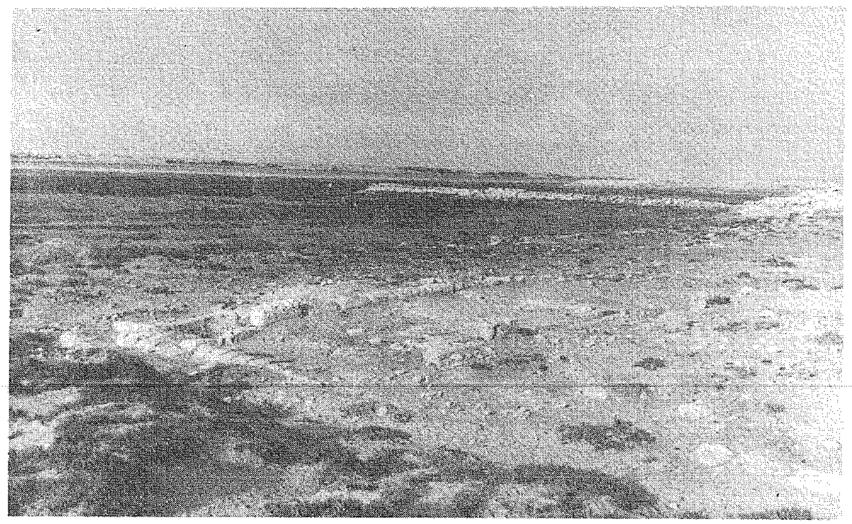


Fig. 6. So-called Marea. Harbour. View from S.-W.



Fig. 7. Huwariya. Aqueduct of the villa rustica. View from W.

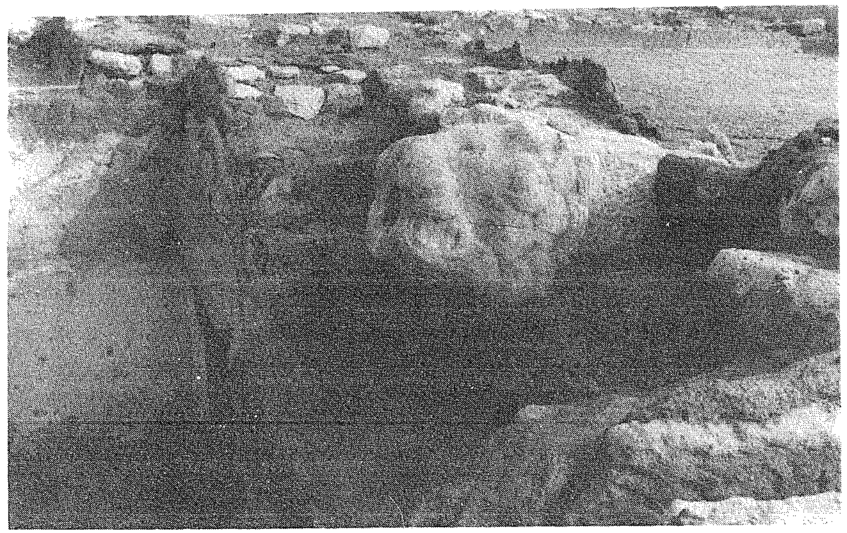


Fig. 8. Huwariya. Fragment of wine factory in settlement.

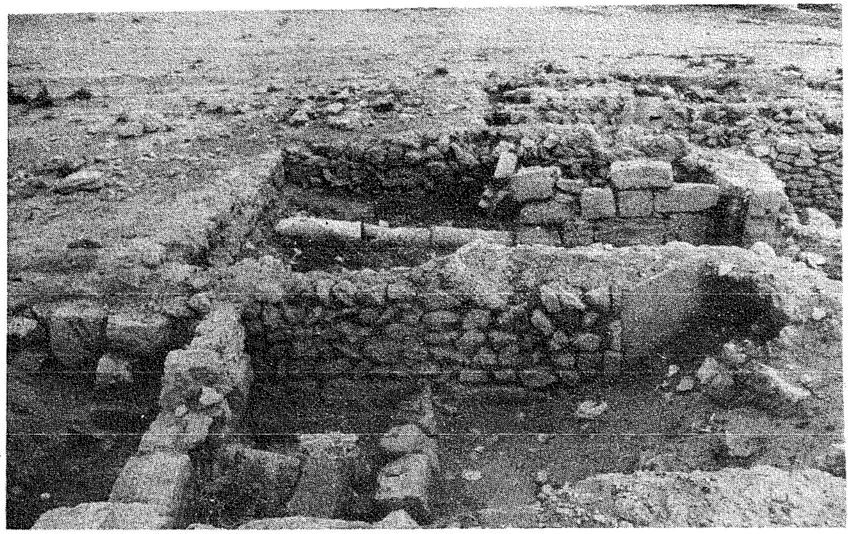


Fig. 9. Huwariya. Byzantine settlement. In right, lower corner Muslin tomb. View from W.



Fig. 10. So-called Marea. Quay of the western part of the harbour. View from S.

ALLAT-ATHENA OF PALMYRA

The impact of the settling of Arab nomads on Hellenistic and Roman Syria is now a well established fact.[1] In particular, the oasis of Palmyra could not conceivably develop into a city without the massive influx of these desert people. It is enough to go through the repertory of the Palmyrene proper names to realize how large a proportion of them are of Arab origin.[2] While many tribesmen became townsfolk, others stayed closer to their former way of life, breeding horses and camels for the use of the far-flung Palmyrene commerce in farms and villages around the city.[3]

The modest shrines of these settlements have yielded sculptures and inscriptions reflecting the beliefs probably very close to those of the nomads. We find there a crowd of deities difficult to distinguish from each other and being the tutelary djinns of a place, a clan or an individual.[4] They are usually dressed in the Beduin garb, if they do not take up the Roman cuirass passed over the Oriental trousers. In any case, they are armed to the teeth.

This characteristic was convincingly explained by Seyrig as just another Arab tradition: the gods were supposed to defend and assist their worshippers amidst the permanent dangers of the desert life, and that is why they were imagined in arms. They followed in this the fashion of their faithful: the Beduin warriors came thus to resemble the officers escorting the caravans of Palmyra on the long way to the Gulf.[5] It is a measure of the importance of the Arab settlement about the beginning of the Christian era that many ancestral gods of the oasis became by then

1. Already R. Dussaud, La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l' Islam, Paris 1955, and more recently J. Starcky, La civilisation nabatéenne: état des questions, AAAS 21, 1971 (Actes du IXe Congrès d' Archéologie Classique, Damas 1969), p. 81 s.

2. J.K. Stark, The Personal Names in the Palmyrene Inscriptions, Oxford 1971, p. 62-118.

3. D. Schlumberger, La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest, Paris 1951; R. Dussaud, op. cit., p. 71-89.

4. E.g. the djinns of Bet-Pasi'el: D. Schlumberger, op. cit., p. 55, pl. XXIX, 1; H.J.W. Drijvers, The Religion of Palmyra, Leiden 1976, pl. IX, X, LIV, 1. Cf. J.Starcky, Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible VI (1960), 1096; Relief de la Palmyrène dédié à des Génies, Mélanges Paul Collart, Lausanne 1976, p. 327-334.

5. H. Seyrig, Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie, Syria 47, 1970, p. 77-116.

military as well, especially when they were represented in the desert outposts of the caravan city.[6]

Among all these divine warriors there appears a goddess. Sometimes, she has no particular attributes or takes the likeness of a Tyche[7], but there exists also a type in arms, with a lance, a shield, and an aegis which cannot but mark her as Athena. We may be certain to meet there the Arab goddess Allat.

Allat is the most often quoted deity on the Safaitic inscriptions and was well known throughout Arabia for many centuries until the advent of Islam. The first mention of her occurs in Herodotus (Hist. III, 8), where she is presented as the sole goddess of the Arabs, being the same as Aphrodite Ourania. The name itself, meaning «the goddess», is a sufficient proof of Allat's paramount importance in the Arab pantheon.

Several recent studies of her iconography make it unnecessary to discuss here the origins of the cult and the various forms it took in different places.[8] I feel however useful to say that, in my opinion, the tendency to consider all or most female deities of the Roman period in Syria as facets of one single goddess under different names is abusing the evidence. It is my conviction that the pagan religions of the Near East should not be approached as theological systems to be painstakingly recreated from the scarce and often contradictory information at our disposal. The pagan gods are gods of their particular sanctuaries and the differences between them are those of ritual and not of dogma. Allat of Bosra, for instance, was worshipped as such in Petra and Iram, while being not identical to Allat of neighbouring Salkhad, of Palmyra, of Ta'if.[9] Still, all these cults had of course much in common and the goddess, while certainly not the only female deity of the tribes of Northern Arabia, was there the most important one.

Considering again the situation in Palmyra, we find there two different traditions of representing Allat, either as Atargatis or as Athena. The best exemples of both aspects are provided by monuments recovered in the sanctuary excavated in

6. Cf. e.g. a relief in the Louvre, from Bir Wereb: H.J.W. Drijvers, op. cit., pl. XXXIV; M.A.R. Colledge, The Art of Palmyra, London 1976, pl. XXXV. This sculpture is considered as representing the so-called trias of Baalshamīn; for a different interpretation, cf. M. Gawlikowski, Les dieux de Palmyre, ANRW II 18, 3 (in print).

7. Cf. H.J.W. Drijvers, op. cit., pl. VIII, 2; IX, 2; LII, 2; LIII; LIV; LVI, 2; LIX. For Tyche, cf. M. Rostovtzeff, Mélanges René Dussaud I, Paris 1939, p. 281-295; A. Bounni - N. Saliby, AAS 15, 1965, p. 87-98 (Drijvers, pl. LI).

8. H.J.W. Drijvers, De matre inter leones sedente. Iconography and Character of the Arab Goddess Allat, Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, I, Leiden 1978, p. 331-351; J. Teixidor, The Pantheon of Palmyra, Leiden 1979, p. 53-62; J. Starcky, Allath, Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae I, 1981, s.v.

9. For these variants, cf. J. Starcky, op. cit.

10. M. Gawlikowski, Le temple d' Allat à Palmyre, RArch 1977, p. 253-274; H.J.W. Drijvers, Das

the late seventies by a team I have had the privilege to lead.[10]

It was until recently considered that the identification of Allat with Athena is a late phenomenon in Palmyra, appearing only in the 3^{d} century A.D. Now, this equivalence can be demonstrated as early as 64 A.D., according to an official inscription from the sanctuary.[11] On the other hand, another inscription, dated to 6 B.C., bears testimony to a still earlier, or only parallel, tradition which identified Allat with Artemis.

A goddess who, in the 5th century B.C., appeared to be similar to Aphrodite in her celestial aspect, became later represented under the traits of the Syrian Goddess and, in the same time, under the growing influence of Hellenism, equaled to Artemis, to be finally identified with Athena. Thus, the pacific deity enthroned in majesty became a warrior goddess.

The evolution is parallel to what happened to other gods of Palmyra in the 1st century A.D.: under the influence of the nomad ideas about the divinity, they came to be represented in the contemporary military outfit. For a goddess, a model had to be looked for in the Classical iconography and it was readily found there. Except for one or two reliefs which represent an uncertain goddess holding a lance and a shield, all the other armed female figures in the Palmyrene repertory wear the aegis and obviously imitate Greek types of Athena.

Curiously enough, Allat was much slower in adopting this warrior aspect than other gods of the Palmyrene pantheon, perhaps because it involved in her case a more radical change. The three images that have come down to us from the 1st century A.D. represent the goddess seated on a throne flanked by lions, holding a sceptre or raising the right hand in benediction, quite in the manner of the Syrian Goddess of Hierapolis.[12] However, two of them are inscribed with Allat's name, while Atargatis had in Palmyra a separate temple.[13] The lion is very much the particular attribute of Allat at that time: the entrance to the sanctuary was guarded by an imposing mural relief of this animal facing menacingly the onlooker, while an oryx is being calmly couched between the paws of the predator. An accompanying inscription, datable to the first half of the 1st century A.D., an-

Heiligtum der arabischen Göttin Allat im westlichen Stadtteil von Palmyra, Antike Welt 7, 1976, p. 28-38.

11. CIS II 3966 (J. Cantineau, Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre II, 1); for the name of Athena, M. Gawlikowski, Allat et Baalshamîn, Mélanges Paul Collart, Lausanne 1976, p. 200-203.

12. H.J.W. Drijvers, Mélanges Vermaseren I, p. 332, pl. LXXIV; P. Collart-J. Vicari, Le sanctuaire de Baalshamîn à Palmyre I-II, Rome 1969, p. 223, pl. CVIII, 3 (=Drijvers, The Religion, pl. XL, 1), where one lion is actually represented, but the throne is shown sidewise; K. Michalowski, Palmyre III, Varsovie 1963, p. 172, fig. 224 (=Drijvers, op. cit., pl. LV).

13. CIS II 3927, RTP 201, cf. M. Rostovtzeff, Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra, AJA 1933, p. 58-63 (to be taken cautiously). The temple of Atargatis is mentioned in an inscription: Chr. Dunant, Le sanctuaire de Baalshamîn à Palmyre III, Rome 1971, p. 58.

nounces the benediction of Allat to those who shall abstain from shedding blood in the temple precinct.[14]

There are two smaller versions of this sculpture, one in Copenhagen and another, recently found, in Palmyra: the place of the oryx is taken by a bull and a ram, respectively. All three animals are typically sacrificial and the recommendation not to spill blood seems to relate to special ritual rules, rather than to hypothetical asylum rights of the sanctuary. In fact, the altar of the temple, which stood in front of the primitive chapel of the 1st century B.C., was left in place inside the larger cella of the Antonine date, thus excluding the possibility of bloody offerings. It should be reminded in this context that the ritual of the great temple of Atargatis in Hierapolis, as reported by Loukianos, did not admit bloody sacrifices either.

We know nothing of the aspect of the cult image that stood in the primitive cella, nor of the idol set there about the middle of the 1st century A.D. and mentioned in a later inscription.[15] The Palmyrene sculptures of the 2d century follow already the Hellenic models of Athena. There is only one known exemple uniting both iconographic traditions: a small temple in Khirbet es-Sane (in the desert north-west of Palmyra) enshrined a relief representing Allat as Athena enthroned between two lions.[16] The dedicatory inscription associates her with a not represented god called Rahim whose name is clearly Arabic; he is also known from Palmyra itself as an associate of Baalshamīn in the latter's sanctuary, and of Shams and again Allat in an inscription consecrating some columns not far from the sanctuary of the goddess.[17] It seems that both Rahim and Shams could participate in the cult of this temple, as the text of 115 A.D. already alluded to (note 15) speaks of «all the gods staying with the Lady of the House». However, there existed in the vicinity an independent shrine of the Arab Sun-god.[18]

Allat remained anyway the mistress of the sanctuary. The building inscriptions of the 2d century name only her and it was her image that stood in the temple. We found this marble cult statue badly broken, but it could have been restored for

14. Mentioned: RArch 1977, p. 274; H.J.W. Drijvers, Sanctuaries and Social Safety, Visible Religion 1, 1982, p. 65-75. Cf. the tesserae RTP 123, 165 (lion of Allat).

15. M. Gawlikowski, Syria 47, 1970, p. 313, Recueil d' inscriptions palmyréniennes, Paris 1974, n° 143 (inscription of 115 A.D., mentioning the idol set by an ancestor).

16. G. Ploix de Rotrou - H. Seyrig, Syria 14, 1933, p. 12-19, pl. IV, 1, and J. Cantineau, ibid., p. 181 (=D. Schlumberger, op. cit., p. 78, pl. XXXVII,1; H.J.W. Drijvers, The Religion, pl. LVIII).

17. Chr. Dunant, op. cit., n° 23, cf. J.T. Milik, Dédicaces faites par des dieux, Paris 1972, p. 96-98; CIS II 3955 (=Inventaire V, 8).

18. M. Gawlikowski, Mélanges Paul Collart, p. 197-199; Le temple palmyrénien, Varsovie 1973, p. 100. Cf. D. Schlumberger, op. cit.,pl. XXXI, 1 (=Drijvers, pl. LVI, 1). See H. Seyrig, Le culte du Soleil en Syrie à l' époque romaine, Syria 48, 1971, p. 337 s.

the most part, so the type can be safely discussed. It is of pure Hellenic workmanship and has nothing to do with the local artistic tradition.

Our first impression upon recovering the fragments of the head was that we have found another copy of the Parthenos.[19] Indeed, the details of the helmet match exactly the description of Pausanias (I, 24, 5; Overbeck 649), more closely so than any other known copies. A row of pegasoi above the front, a sphinx and two griffins on the top, the rampant griffins on the paragnathides leave no place for doubt. However, while the left hand rested on a round shield, in accordance with the Parthenos type, the right arm was raised and held a lance. More interesting is the aegis, rolled and passed across the chest, in the way to be found on some less known statues of the 5th century.[20]

The statue of Palmyra is possibly a Roman contamination of two or more classical models. Personally, I would be rather inclined to see here a copy of an otherwise unidentified sculpture from the circle of Phidias.

Another, much smaller piece of Greek sculpture found in the cella is a marble head of Athena of the so-called Giustiniani type, wearing a Corinthian helmet with the heads of two rams on it.[21] It seems likely that both sculptures were imported expressly for the new cella dedicated in 123/4 or 143/4 A.D. Though the equivalence of Allat and Athena was well established in Palmyra by then, as can be seen from the epigraphical evidence already quoted, there are no certainly earlier expressions of this identification in the local art.[22] Some reliefs of the 2d and 3d centuries associate the goddess wearing the aegis and a Corinthian helmet with rows of gods in armour, expressly or presumably of Arab origin. None of these sculptures, however, reflects the type of the cult statue of the temple.[23]

The sanctuary can be traced back to the 1st century B.C., when it consisted of a temenos with a small chapel in midst of it. Allat should have enjoyed there a spe-

19. Cf. Illustrated London News, November 1975; RArch 1977, p. 267-269.

20. Cf. H. Thompson, The Athenian Agora, a Guide, Athens 1976 (3d ed.), p. 201-202, fig. 104. For possible identifications of this torso: A. Delivorrias, Kernos (Festschrift Bakalaki), Thessaloniki 1972, p. 33-34 (Lokros of Paros); B. Schlörb, Untersuchungen zur Bildhauergeneration nach Phidias, Waldsassen 1964, p. 35 (Agorakritos). Statues in the Acropolis Museum: C.Praschniker, ÖJh 37, 1948, p. 20 s., fig. 12-14; I.Beyer, AM 89, 1974, p. 123-149, pl. LV; cf. F. Brommer, Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel, Mainz 1963, p. 97-101, pl. LXIV.

21. RArch 1977, p. 266, fig. 11. Cf. E. Mathiópoulos, Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im V. Jahrhundert, Bonn 1968, p. 179-182; G.S. Korres, Τὰ μετὰ κεφαλῶν κριῶν κράνη, Ἀθήναις 1970, p. 111-119. The best copy is in Athens: S. Karouzou, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1956, p. 156-159; A. Hekler, AA 49, 1934, p. 256, fig. 1; Fr. Croissant, BCH 95, 1971, p. 86-87, fig. 18-21.

22. The early datation of a small fragment from the sanctuary (Drijvers, Mélanges Vermaseren I, p. 338, pl. LXXII) is very uncertain.

23. Drijvers, ibid., p. 338, pl. LXXIII; The Religion, pl. LVI (=Schlumberger, op. cit., pl. XXXI, 1), XXXVI, XXXVII, 2 (=Collart et Vicari, op. cit., pl. CVI, 4-5).

cial fervour of visitors from the desert. It is not by chance that the sacred precinct was laid outside the city walls and that the only Safaitic inscriptions known from the oasis were found there.

The goddess was in many ways similar to Atargatis of Hierapolis, having borrowed the iconography of this well established Syrian deity, but she was distinct from her, if only by not being the consort of Hadad, a god unknown in Palmyra. She was also different from other forms of Allat, such as the idol of Bosra. When the need to translate the name into Greek was felt, it was first thought of Artemis, perhaps because of the lions accompanying the goddess.

Soon, with the trend to give the Arab gods the warrior aspect, the identification with Athena, the only warlike goddess of the Hellenic pantheon, imposed itself naturally. In spite of this and of the classical form of the cult image, Allat of Palmyra remained an Arab goddess associated in cult with other divine figures of the same origin. The lion at the entrance survived until ca 300 A.D. when a Roman camp was established around the sanctuary, imposing a reconstruction of the gate. Since then, the goddess was probably understood as Minerva, one of the tutelary deities of the army. The temple lasted until the end of the 4th century and was destroyed under Theodosius.

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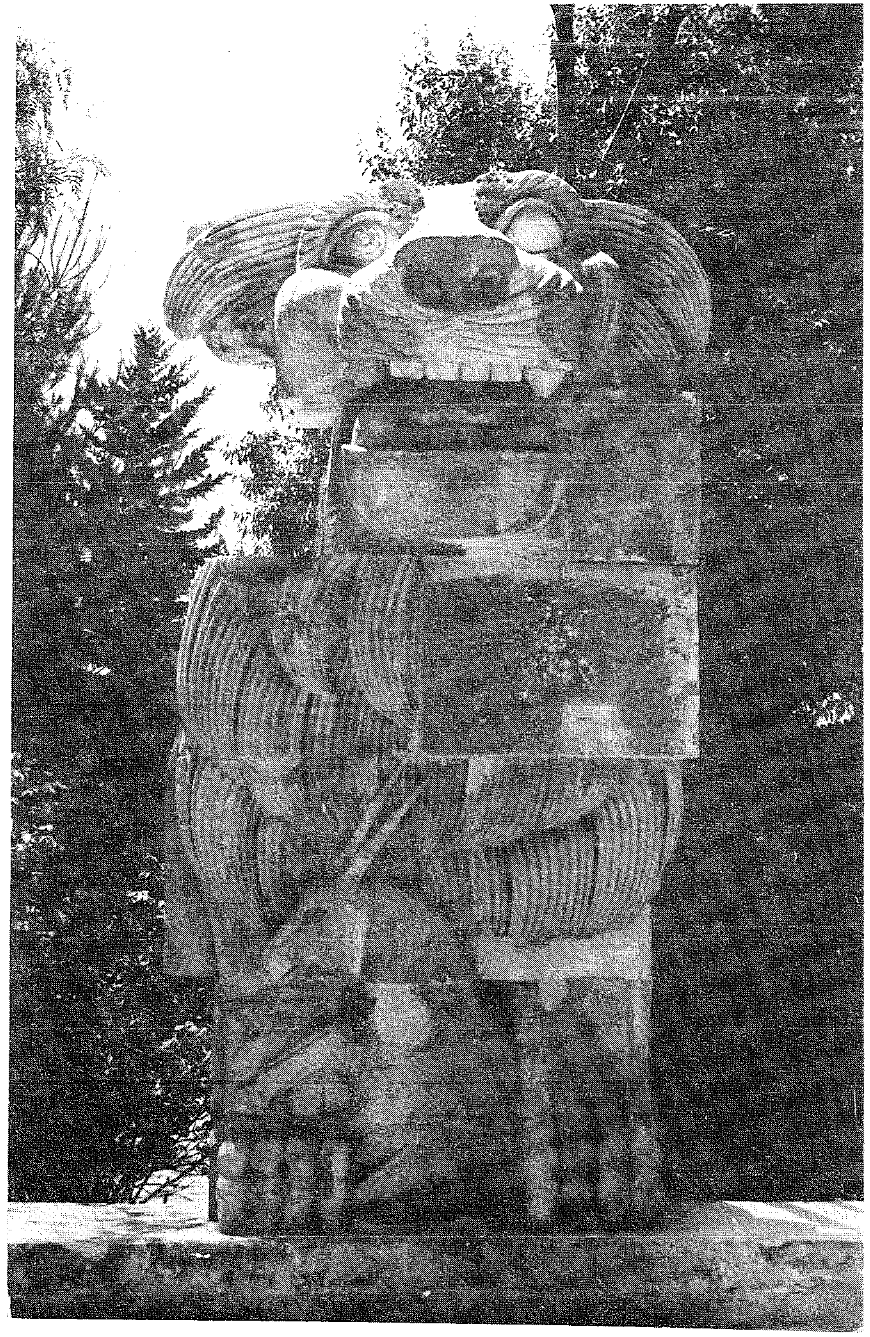


Fig. 1: The lion of Allat, Mural sculpture having guarded the entrance to the temenos in Palmyra.



Fig. 2: Statue of Athena from the Allat temple. 2d century copy after an Attic 5th century type



Fig. 3: Head of an Athena statuette, Giustiniani type. Found in the Palmyra temple.



Fig. 4: Arab military gods on a relief from the Palmyra temple. First from right, Allat as Athena.

SURVIVANCES DE L'HELLÉNISTICO-ROMAIN DANS LA PEINTURE COPTE (ANTÉRIEURE AU IXe S.)

L'art copte est, –faut-il le rappeler,– un art populaire extrêmement composite. Au fonds millénaire de l'Égypte pharaonique se sont mêlées, au cours des siècles, les influences artistiques des maîtres successifs de l'Égypte: Perses, Grecs et Romains.

L'art judéo-hellénistique, puis le christianisme apportèrent un nouveau ferment à ce mélange. Ainsi naquit l'art copte. Alexandre Badawy avait d'ailleurs consacré deux ouvrages à ces composantes.[1]

Ce sont les survivances de la production hellénistico-romaine qui seront envisagées ici, tout particulièrement dans la première peinture copte (V^e/VIIe s.), domaine dans lequel l'influence du paganisme est moins directement sensible que dans la sculpture et les arts mineurs. Ainsi, qui n'a en mémoire telle Aphrodite dont la nudité n'est même pas voilée par son abondante chevelure,[2] l'accouplement de Léda et du Cygne,[3] Hercule luttant contre le lion de Némée,[4] Daphné changée en arbre,[5] Orphée charmant les animaux?[6] ces deux derniers thèmes ont

1. A. Badawy, *L'art copte. Les influences égyptiennes*, Le Caire, 1949; Id., *L'art copte. Les influences hellénistiques et romaines*, Le Caire, 1953.

2. Ainsi, sur un magnifique relief conservé au Musée du Louvre à Paris Aphrodite, dont la nudité est mise en valeur par le coquillage dont elle surgit, tord son abondante chevelure en un geste gracieux. Ce motif fréquent en sculpture (cf. C. Duthuit, *La sculpture copte*, Paris, 1931, pl.00 b; J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, Londres, 1963, n° 62; K. Wessel, *L'art copte. L'art antique de la Basse-Époque en Égypte*, Bruxelles, 1964, n°s 38 & 39; P. Du Bourguet, *L'art copte*, Paris, 1968, p. 34; A. Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1978, pp. 144, 145) apparaît également dans les arts mineurs: cf. P. Du Bourguet, *L'art copte*, pp. 52, 142 à 146.

3. J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, n°s 69 & 70; K. Wessel, *L'art copte*, n° 37; H. Zaloscer, *Die Kunst im christlichen Ägypten*, Vienne-Munich, 1974, n° 22; A. Effenberger, *Koptische Kunst. Ägypten in spätantiker, byzantinischer und frühislamischer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1975, n°s 42, 43; A. Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology*, p. 148.

4. Un très beau relief, plein de vie et de mouvement, est conservé à Leyde (Pays-Bas), au Rÿksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. F 1959/83. Un autre relief, provenant d'Ahnas, est conservé au Musée Copte du Caire: cf. C. Duthuit, *La sculpture copte*, pl. XXIVa; K. Wessel, *L'art copte*, n° 9, pour une pièce analogue.

5. J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, n°s 64 & 65; K. Wessel, *L'art copte*, n° 40; P. Du Bourguet, *L'art copte*, supplément illustré n° 13; H. Zaloscer, *Die Kunst im christlichen Ägypten*, n°s 19 & 20; A. Effenberger, *Koptische Kunst*, n°s 27 & 31; A. Badawy, *Coptic Art*, p. 144 & 150.

pu, soit dit par parenthèse, recevoir une coloration chrétienne.[7] Innombrables sont, sur les tissus ou sur les ivoires sculptés, les Ménades entourant Bacchus, les Bacchantes, les Néréides, les monstres marins et les *putti*..., motifs également présents sur la pierre.[8]

Les deux ouvrages de Badawy sont riches de ces exemples et extrêmement documentés. Mais, curieusement, l'auteur n'indique en peinture que la présence au sein de scènes chrétiennes, de motifs qui leur sont étrangers: ainsi à Baouît, dans la chapelle 37, les files de saints sont-elles interrompues par un chasseur et des animaux.[9] Mais l'art paléochrétien en général n'était nullement hostile à de telles images.[10] Plutôt qu'une influence païenne j'y verrais des représentations de la vie et des préoccupations quotidiennes. On a trop souvent tendance à oublier que les peintures coptes des grands ensembles religieux n'illustrent pas uniquement la vie du Christ et des saints mais qu'elles montrent également les moines dans leurs simples tâches journalières.[11]

La présente recherche envisagera les survivances hellénistico-romaines sous trois aspects: les thèmes, l'adoption de goûts et de techniques, enfin la composition et la présentation des ensembles peints.

Je laisserai ici volontairement de côté le rôle qu'ont joué les portraits de momies et, après eux, les icônes et les petits autels en bois dont l'influence sur l'art copte est indéniable; ces aspects ont déjà fait l'objet d'études détaillées, notamment de H. Zaloscer et Kl. Parlasca.[12]

6. C. Duthuit, *La sculpture copte*, pl. XVIIa; K. Wessel, *L'art copte*, n° 53; A. Badawy, *Coptic Art*, p. 147.

7. L'iconographie d'Orphée et de David est en effet très proche: cf. K. Wessel, *L'art copte*, n°s 53 & 54. On verra également les peintures retraçant l'histoire de David dans les chapelles 3, 32, 34 de Baouît (cf. J. Cledat, s.v. *Baouit* dans *D.A.C.L.*, 2, 1, 1910, coll. 245-249). Pour les représentations de Daphné, on verra M. Simon, *Sur trois lampes «chrétiennes» de Tunisie* dans *Antiquités Africaines*, t. 18, 1982, pp. 177-183.

8. Tissus: cf. P. Du Bourguet, *L'art copte*, pp. 140-146; P. Du Bourguet, P. Gremont, *Tissus coptes* (exposition du Musée d'Angers), *Musée d'Angers*, Angers, s.d., n°s 9, 21, 22, 27, 38, 40, 51, 54, 55, 84, 85, 106. Os et ivoires sculptés: cf. J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, n°s 14, 20, 21, 27, 28, 38, 39; L. Marangou, *Bone Carvings from Egypt. I. Graeco-Roman Period*, Tübingen, 1976. Pour les sculptures, on verra, par exemple, J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, n°s 53, 56, 59, 60, 63, 67, 77.

9. A. Badawy, *L'art copte. Les influences égyptiennes*, (cité n. 1) pp. 27-28, 40. On verra également J. Cledat, *Baouit*, dans *D.A.C.L.*, (cité n. 7) col. 250, fig. 1277.

10. De telles scènes apparaissent même dans des églises: F. Baratte, N. Duval, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1978, pp. 132-145, spécialement p. 143.

11. Ainsi au couvent de Saint-Jérémie à Saqqara: cf. M. Rassart-Debergh, *Quelques remarques iconographiques sur la peinture chrétienne de Saqqara*, dans *Acta ad Archaologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, IX, 1981, pp. 207-220, spécialement p. 219.

12. K. Parlasca, *Ritratti di mummie*, I, Palerme, 1969; II, Rome, 1977; III, Rome, 1980 (= *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, ser. B); H. Zaloscer, *Vom Mumienbildnis zur Ikone*, Wiesbaden, 1969.

I. Les Thèmes.

Je n'évoquerai que très brièvement la présence dans la première peinture copte de nombreux décors végétaux et animaliers que l'on trouvait déjà fréquemment dans le paganisme. Un exemple suffit.

Les colonnes de l'Eglise principale du Couvent de Saint Jérémie à Saqqara portent un décor figuré. Sur la partie supérieure des fûts, on voit de saints personnages en pied; au-dessous, voilà de charmants volatiles dans des médaillons (fig. 1). Des animaux semblables se mêlent à des motifs de croix, au couvent de Saint Macaire au Wadi Natroum.[13] L'ensemble fait penser à des tapisseries[14] mais aussi aux mosaïques de sol de bien des églises, par exemple à Ravenne[15] ou en Afrique du Nord.[16]

Il me paraît licite de voir là, non une symbolique mais bien l'emploi d'un répertoire usuel. Et si les Coptes sont spécialement habiles à croquer une attitude, un mouvement, sans doute l'habitude de voir des hiéroglyphes n'y est-elle pas étrangère.[17]

Par contre, dans les exemples qui vont suivre, l'influence hellénistico-romaine est indéniable.

Elle peut se manifester par un mélange de motifs païens et chrétiens. Dans une tombe chrétienne d'Alexandrie, attribuée au 4e s.,[18] les scènes champêtres où des boeufs actionnent une noria,[19] un sanctuaire rustique dans la plus pure tradi-

13. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)*, Le Caire, 1909, p. 4, pl. XI. Ces peintures de Saint-Macaire sont encore inédites et conservées dans le petit musée du couvent.

14. P. Du Bourguet, P. Gremont, *Tissus coptes*, (cité n. 8) n°s 2 et 18.

15. Ainsi à Saint-Vital, sur une mosaïque de sol: cf. F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des Spätantiken Abendlandes*. II *Kommentar*, 2, Wiesbaden, 1976, n° 101.

16. Ainsi à Bulla Regia (Tunisie), sur la mosaïque décorant le bas-côté sud de la Basilique Sud (6e s.): cf. A. Beschaouch, R. Hanoune, Y. Thebert, *Les ruines de Bulla Regia*, Rome, 1977, sp. fig. 36. Ces motifs sont également prisés au Liban et en Transjordanie: cf. F. Baratte, N. Duval, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes* (cité n. 10), ill. pp. 139, 140 et 141.

17. J. Doresse, *Des hiéroglyphes à la Croix: ce que le passé pharaonique a légué au christianisme*, Istanbul, 1960, sp. pp. 38-40; E. Drioton, *Une sculpture copte inspirée des hiéroglyphes*, dans *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, II. *Studi di papirologia e antichità orientali*, Milan, 1957, pp. 471-477.

18. A. Barbet, *Une tombe chrétienne à Alexandrie*, dans *Colloque Histoire et Historiographie. Clio*, Paris, 1980 (= *Caesarodunum*, 15 bis), pp. 391-400.

19. *Ibidem*, p. 395; cf. aussi note 10.

20. W. Dorigo, *Pittura tardoromana*, Milan, 1966, spéc. pp. 22-72.

tion des stucs et des peintures romaines[20] et un jardin avec un hermès[21] voisinent avec un Bon Pasteur et plusieurs épisodes de la vie de Jonas.[22]

Cette influence consiste parfois en des emprunts purs et simples à des compositions antérieures. Ainsi une peinture trouvée récemment aux Kellia, à Qouçoûr Izeila. Dans le kom 14, au milieu de scènes chrétiennes séparées par des motifs géométriques et floraux, on voit un homme nu, allongé, appuyé d'un coude sur un objet rond et tenant une longue verge de l'autre main. L'inscription a été partiellement grattée mais on lit encore «AMOC».[23] L'interprétation logique est donc d'y voir un fleuve. Cette présence n'est guère choquante dans un contexte chrétien: un petit homme nu symbolisant le Jourdain apparaît fréquemment aux pieds du Christ que baptise Jean-Baptiste (fig. 2). La nouveauté de l'exemplaire des Kellia réside dans le fait que tout dans la position, l'attitude, les attributs (urne et rame dans ce cas) rappelle les allégories classiques de fleuves, ainsi, le Tigre (transformé en Tibre à la renaissance) et le Nil provenant des thermes de Constantin à Rome, qui ornent aujourd'hui la place du Capitole.[24] On connaît d'ailleurs en Égypte copte même des représentations du Nil, comme ce visage nu et barbu sur un tissu conservé à Moscou,[25] identifié par l'inscription qui le surmonte.

Certains motifs classiques adoptés par les Coptes, ont été revêtus alors d'une nouvelle symbolique. Ainsi les types allégoriques tellement fréquents dans les arts grec et romain (masques théâtraux, Saisons, Éléments, Muses...) sont, à Saqqara comme à Baouît, devenus les Vertus de l'Esprit, simples têtes nimbées (Saqqara, cellule 1525; Baouît, chambre 22),[26] ou des bustes féminins à la chevelure et au vêtement rehaussés de bijoux en or: diadème, boucles d'oreilles, colliers (Saqqara, cellule 709 (fig. 3) où les Vertus ailées portent le globe ou la patère qui

21. A. Barbet, *Une tombe chrétienne* (cité n. 18), p. 393 et fig. 3.

22. *Ibidem*, pp. 397-399. Ce thème fréquent dans la peinture paléochrétienne (cf. A. Nestori, *Repertorio topografico delle pitture delle catocombe romane*, Cité du Vatican, 1975 (= *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, V) est par contre rare dans l'art copte (cf. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La peinture copte avant le XIIe siècle. Une approche*, dans *Acta* (cité n. 11), pp. 221-285, sp. pp. 272-279.

23. Cette peinture est encore inédite, j'en prépare la publication. Je dois à la grande amabilité du professeur Kasser, –que je remercie vivement,– d'avoir pu la présenter ici. Une peinture sans doute analogue a été trouvée par la mission française dans le kom 167: cf. G. Andreu et R.-G. Coquin, *Septième campagne de fouilles aux Kellia (avril 1981). Rapport préliminaire*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. 81, 1981, pp. 159-188, spéc. 174-175.

24. E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Rom*, II, Tübingen, 1962, pp. 446-447. Les représentations sur mosaïques sont semblables: cf. S. Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad. Étude descriptive et analytique*, Paris, 1969, n° 166.

25. P. Du Bourguet, *L'art copte* (cité n.2), p. 64. Les représentations sculptées du Nil sont légèrement différentes: cf. J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture* (cité n. 2), n°s 72 à 74.

26. M. Rassart-Debergg, J. Debergh, *À propos de trois peintures de Saqqara*, dans *Acta* (cité n. 11), pp. 187-205, spéc. pp. 193-201, avec bibliographie antérieure.

caractérisent les archanges;[27] Baouît, chambres 3, 6, 12 et 18).[28]

Dans la chapelle de la Paix, à El Bagaouat,[29] autour de Daniel dans la fosse aux lions, trois femmes rappellent trois moments de la vie du prophète.[30] Déjà à Touna el Gebel,[31] dans la maison 21[32] des figures humaines symbolisent l'une la ville de Thèbes, l'autre la question posée par le sphinx à Oedipe, la troisième la Méprise se voilant la face devant le geste insensé du héros (fig. 4).[33]

Autre exemple: des militaires romains qui, par l'adjonction d'une auréole, deviennent de saints guerriers. Ceux-ci, cavaliers ou fantassins, vêtus comme des officiers romains, jouissent en effet, d'un culte tout particulier dans la Vallée du Nil.[34] Les cavaliers sont les plus nombreux à Baouît, la chambre XVII leur est entièrement dédiée.[35] Symbolisant le Bien vainqueur du Mal, ils transpercent de leur lance ou menacent de leur épée le démon sous sa forme animale[36] ou humaine

27. O. Skjerbaek Madsen, *Michael and the Oblation Object in Michael's Hand*, dans *Bulletin de la Soc. d'Archéol. Copte*, 21 (1971-1973), 1975, pp. 105-115. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara. Essai de reconstitution*, dans *Acta* (cité n. 11), pp. 9-124, spéc. 54-58.

28. Cf. note 26.

29. Cette nécropole, qui se trouve sur la piste caravanière reliant Assiout au Soudan, compte quelque 260 tombes tant païennes que chrétiennes. Rien dans l'architecture ne permet de distinguer les unes des autres; les peintures comme les inscriptions sont nos seuls guides. L'ensemble ressemble à tous les cimetières avec une allée centrale coupée de voies secondaires. Le mobilier funéraire associé aux peintures indique que la christianisation eut lieu au cours du IVe s. Parmi les mausolées chrétiens, décorés surtout de pampres, de motifs géométriques, de croix, d'oiseaux, deux ont retenu l'attention car ils s'ornent de scènes puisées dans le répertoire testamentaire. Cf. A. Fakhry, *The Necropolis of el-Bagaouat in Kharga Oasis*, Le Caire, 1951; H. Torp, s.v. *el-Bagawat*, dans *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Supplemento 1970*, Rome, 1973, pp. 131-133; J. Schwartz, *Nouvelles études sur les fresques d'El-Bagawat*, dans *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 13, 1962, pp. 1-11.

30. Les peintures du Mausolée de la Paix sont attribuées au VIe s.; à côté de Daniel, une femme en orante symbolise la Prière des Trois Hébreux dans la Fournaise, et une autre tenant une balance évoque la Justice rendue à la chaste Suzanne; le troisième personnage, la Paix, a trait au supplice de Daniel. Cf. A. Fakhry, *The Necropolis*, pp. 67-78.

31. Touna ou Hermopolis Ouest se présente comme une véritable ville des morts; les tombeaux en briques ou en pierres constituent autant de maisons à étage avec des pièces particulières où la famille du défunt se rassemblait pour lui faire des libations. Cet ensemble important par son étendue a été utilisé de l'extrême fin du IIIe s. avant J.-C. au début du IIIe s. après. Cf. Sami Gabra, *Fouilles de l'Université «Fouad el Awal» à Touna el-Gebel (Hermopolis Ouest)*, dans *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*, 39, 1939, pp. 483-496; Id. et E. Drioton, *Peintures à fresques et à scènes peintes à Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)*, Le Caire, 1954.

32. S. Gabra, *Chez les derniers adorateurs du trismégiste. La nécropole d'Hermopolis Touna el-Gebel (souvenir d'un archéologue)*, Le Caire, 1971, 116-121. La maison est datée du IIe s. de notre ère.

33. Cette peinture est conservée au Musée Égyptien du Caire, sans n° d'inv.

34. H. Delehaye, *Légendes grecques des Saints militaires*, Paris, 1909. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La peinture copte* (cité n. 22), spéc. 275-277.

35. J. Cledat, s.v. *Baouît*, dans *D.A.C.L.* (cité n. 7), coll. 250-251.

36. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La peinture copte* (cité n. 22), pp. 276-277.

(fig. 5).[37] C'est aussi l'attitude des saints militaires en pied, ainsi le Saint Georges de Faras (fig. 6).[38] Une peinture de Qouçoûr Izeila est toute différente, car les saints empruntent non seulement l'uniforme mais encore l'attitude et les attributs des officiers romains de haut rang (fig. 7).[39] Ils occupent le fond d'une niche rectangulaire sommée d'une voûte en cul de four. S'il n'y avait les auréoles qui entourent leur chevelure bouclée et les moines ornant les parois latérales de la niche, rien ne permettrait de dire qu'il s'agit de saints. Ils se tiennent debout devant un portique; d'une main ils s'appuient sur un bouclier ovale, de l'autre ils tiennent une longue haste. Ils portent les hautes bottes sombres montant jusqu'au mollet, la sous-tunique et la tunique, les ptéryges, la cuirasse modelée en forme de thorax, le manteau pourpre attaché sur l'épaule droite par une grosse fibule, comme n'importe quel officier romain ou byzantin qu'on voit sur les stèles funéraires[40] ou dans les scènes officielles.[41]

Les quatre motifs prouvent à suffisance, –je pense,– l'impact de la culture classique sur l'iconographie copte.

II. Adoption de goûts et de techniques classiques

Le recours à certaines techniques de trompe-l'œil ou de matériau de substitution si fréquent dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine se retrouve tel quel dans l'Égypte copte.

Ainsi, le plafond d'un petit édifice de Kom Abou Girgeh, dans la région maréotique,[42] est constitué par l'assemblage de formes géométriques contenant

37. *Ibidem*; J. Cledat, s.v. *Baouît*, dans *D.A.C.L.* (cité n. 7), fig. 1285.

38. K. Michalowski, *Faras. Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw*, Varsovie, 1974, pp. 116-118.

39. Cette peinture est en cours de publication; j'en ai fait une description dans R. Kasser, *Trois généraux romains saluent Yverdon*, dans le *Journal d'Yverdon* du 4 janvier 1983, p. 6.

40. Les exemples en sont nombreux et proviennent de toutes les provinces de l'Empire. Pour le costume: H. Russel Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome*, Londres, 1975. Alexandrie a conservé le souvenir de ces soldats romains: cf. par exemple, A. Adriani, *Annuario del Museo Greco-romano I (1932-33)*, Alexandrie, 1934, pl. XXV.

41. Ainsi à Louxor: cf. J.G. Deckers, *Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserkultraum von Luxor*, dans *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 94, 1979, pp. 600-652.

42. Le site se trouvait à environ 35 km au sud-ouest d'Alexandrie; deux ensembles superposés y ont été découverts; la plupart des peintures ont été transportées au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie où elles sont conservées. Cf. E. Breccia, *Rapport sur la marche du Service du Musée en 1912*, Alexandrie, 1912, pp. 3-14; Id., *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum. Guide de la ville ancienne et moderne et du Musée Gréco-Romain*, Bergame, 1914, pp. 285-286; M. Rassart-Debergh, *Peintures coptes de la région maréotique: Abou Girgeh et Alam Shaltout*, dans *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, Bruxelles, 27, 1983.

des végétaux et des fruits (fig. 8); cet ensemble peint dans les gammes d'or, de brun et d'ocre imite les caissons sculptés de certaines voûtes et plafonds d'édifices romains. Je songe à l'arc de Titus ou à la Basilique de Maxence à Rome pour ne citer que deux exemples parmi bien d'autres.[43] L'emploi de la peinture pour créer une impression de relief n'était pas inconnu dans l'Alexandrie hellénistique puis romaine.[44] Dans l'Égypte copte, il est extrêmement fréquent: on note cet usage dans la plupart des grands ensembles (Baouît, Saqqara, les Kellia, la Région maréotique) où des verticales et des courbes peintes sur les colonnes évoquent les cannelures et les torsades qui animent la pierre (fig. 9).[45]

Cette imitation vise également à remplacer certaines pierres rares ou trop couteuses.[45] Mouchetis et taches de toutes formes peints sur les colonnes ou les piliers évoquent les noyaux et les franges du marbre et de l'albâtre.[46] Les panneaux géométriques des soubassements semblent constitués d'intarses:[47] l'assemblage des couleurs, le choix des formes peintes imitent à s'y méprendre celui des pierres (fig. 10).

Cette technique était déjà en vogue dans l'art alexandrin, ainsi à Anfouchi, dans les hypogées 1 et 2[48] ou à Mustafa Pacha dans l'hypogée 2;[49] les analogies entre les noyaux irréguliers ocres et bruns sur fond jaune des piliers de la salle 4 de ce dernier hypogée et ceux ornant les colonnes des Kellia suffisent à illustrer notre propos (fig. 11).

Toute l'antiquité classique en fait a utilisé semblable «subterfuge» en Grèce (à Délos, Salonique,...)[50] et en Italie (Boscoréale, Pompéi,...).[51] D'ailleurs, dans

43. E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Rom*, I, Tübingen, 1961, pp. 133-135 et 180-181.

44. Par exemple dans le second souterrain de l'hypogée 1 ou dans l'hypogée 2 de la nécropole d'Alexandrie. Cf. A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, série C, II, Palerme, 1963, pll. 107, 109.

45. M. Rassart-Debergh, *Quelques aspects de la peinture copte de Saqqara et ses antécédents*, dans *Actes du II Congrès International d'Etudes Coptes*, (sous presse).

46. Parfois ces colonnes et piliers peints soutiennent des éléments sculptés: cf. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara*, (cité n. 27), pp. 9-124, spéc. p. 113, pll. XXV, XXVIII.

47. On comparera, par exemple, avec des sols ou des soubassements en marbre véritable, à Rome, à Ostie. Cf. E. Nash, *Bildlexikon*, I (cité n. 43), pp. 71, 392, 453, 499; II (cité n. 24), p. 193. G. Calza, G. Becatti, *Ostia*, 6e éd., 1964, nos 26 et 32.

48. A. Adriani, *Repertorio* (cité n. 44), pll. 108-109 (hyp. 1), pl. 54 (hyp. 2).

49. *Ibidem*, pl. 54.

50. S. Pelekanidis, *Gli affreschi paleocristiani ed i più antichi mosaici parietali di Salonico*, Ravenne, 1963, spéc. p. 21.

51. E. Eristov, *Corpus des faux marbres peints à Pompéi*, dans *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, dans *Antiquité*, 91, 1979, pp. 693-771.

son traité sur l'architecture,[52] Vitruve n'écrivait-il pas que la peinture n'est rien d'autre que «la représentation des choses qui sont... les différentes veinures du marbre,... les combinaisons d'anneaux et de triangles...».[53]

III. Composition

La répartition des décors dans les édifices coptes trouve ses antécédents dans l'Égypte hellénistico-romaine.

À Saqqara, les niches du mur oriental des cellules sont généralement au nombre de trois:[54] deux petites, sans décor, encadrent une ouverture plus importante, souvent voûtée, dont les parois portent des scènes religieuses: *Maiestas Domini, Virgo Lactans*,... (fig. 12).[55] À Baouît, on y voit également le Christ glorieux, la Vierge et les Apôtres (fig. 13).[56] Aux Kellia, le motif principal est la croix triomphante (fig. 14).[57]

Un schéma analogue existait à Karanis à l'époque romaine, où les niches communes étaient utilisées comme armoires, alors que la niche principale au pourtour richement rehaussé de couleurs contenait des panneaux peints se rapportant au culte de Mithra, d'Isis, d'Héron et d'Harpocratès,[58] divinités païennes dont certains aspects, certaines attitudes se retrouvent en quelque sorte dans les compositions religieuses évoquées précédemment.[59]

Les peintures sur les murs des cellules coptes se superposent le plus souvent sur deux registres (fig. 15).[60] En bas, un soubassement rouge pompéien limité par une bordure dans les cas les plus simples[61] ou de vastes panneaux aux motifs géo-

52. Vitruve, *De architectura*, VII, 5: «*De ratione pingendi parietis*».

53. *Ibidem*. Cf. Vitruve. *Les dix livres d'architecture*. Traduction intégrale de Claude Perrault, 1673, revue et corrigée sur les textes latins et présentée par André Dalmas, Paris, 1965, p. 206-7.

54. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara* (cité n. 27), pp. 111-112.

55. M. Rassart-Debergh, *Quelques remarques iconographiques* (cité n. 11), pp. 210-214.

56. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La peinture copte* (cité n. 22), pp. 272-275. P. Van Moorsel, *The Coptic Apse-Composition and its Living Creatures*, dans *Études Nubiennes-Colloque de Chantilly, 2-6 Juillet 1975*, Le Caire, 1978, pp. 325-333.

57. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La peinture copte* (cité n. 22), p. 279; *Ead.* dans *Survey archéologique des Kellia. Rapport de la campagne 1981*, Louvain, 1983, pp. 519-520.

58. A.E.R. Boak et K.E. Peterson, *Karanis. Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924-1928*, Ann Arbor, 1931, spéc. p. 29 et figg. 19, 20, 77.

59. M. Rassart-Debergh, *La peinture copte* (cité n. 22), pp. 272-277.

60. Cette composition se retrouve à Baouît, Saqqara, aux Kellia et dans les édifices de la région maréotique.

61. C'est le cas à Saqqara (M. Rassart-Debergh, *La décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara* (cité n. 27), p. 112) comme aux Kellia (*Ead.* dans *Survey* (cité n. 57), p. 518).

métriques et floraux,[62] dont la composition imite des plaques de marbre.[63] En haut, les scènes religieuses ou les files de saints.[64]

Dans la ville des morts de Touna el Gebel, une répartition analogue existait déjà aux époques grecque et romaine. La seule différence réside dans le choix des thèmes figurés: illustrations de la mythologie classique (histoire d'Oedipe, enlèvement de Proserpine, sac de la ville de Troie,...),[65] ou scènes venues en droite ligne du monde pharaonique (procession des dieux, comparution de la défunte, purification, embaumement, pesée de l'âme...[66]

À Louxor, dans l'ancien temple d'Amon transformé à l'époque romaine, on a reproduit sur les murs des scènes ayant trait à la vie militaire[67] et dans la niche principale, les Tétrarques surmontés de l'aigle impérial.[68] Ces derniers feront place, à l'époque chrétienne, au Roi Céleste et à ses hauts dignitaires ou encore à la Vierge tenant l'Enfant divin.[69]

En guise de conclusions, je dirais que le monde copte n'a nullement «copié» les arts grec et romain, mais qu'il a gardé dans le goût, les techniques, la présentation, ce qui lui convenait et s'adaptait aisément aux nouvelles conceptions religieuses. Que la nouvelle religion se soit greffée sur les troncs, plus ou moins vigoureux selon les cas, des arts antérieurs et contemporains n'étonnera point. Ainsi, à Rome même l'art chrétien poursuit formellement l'art impérial tardif; en Afrique du Nord, l'on constate, à côté d'un mouvement parallèle, d'intéressants retours à des formes préromaines; en Égypte, où l'art pharaonique avait perdu bien de sa sève, c'est surtout dans les apports des cultures grecque et romaine que le christianisme en quête d'expressions plastiques puisera ses racines. On parlera donc plutôt de *survivance* et de *création d'un art mixte* que d'influences.

C'est volontairement que je me suis référée globalement au «monde gréco-romain», sans chercher à dissocier ce qui appartenait à la Grèce et à Rome. Je me rallie en effet à l'opinion de Claire Préaux qui, dans son *Monde hellénistique*,[70] écrivait: «Une culture se définit non seulement par les valeurs qui y guident

62. Ces ensembles remarquables foisonnent à Baouît, à Saqqara et dans la région maréotique (M. Rassart-Debergh, *Peintures coptes de la région maréotique* (cité n. 42). Voir aussi notre fig. 10.

63. Cf. *supra*, p. 233.

64. Ainsi, par exemple à Saqqara: M. Rassart-Debergh, *La décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara* (cité n. 27), pp. 112-115. Voir aussi notre fig. 15.

65. Sami Gabra et E. Drioton, *Peintures à fresques* (cité n. 31), figg. 14 à 16.

66. *Ibidem*, pl. 25.

67. Cf. note 41.

68. *Ibidem*, figg. 28, 29.

69. *Ibidem*, pp. 650-651.

70. Cl. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique. La Grèce et l'Orient (323-146 av. J.-C.)*, 2 vol., Paris, 1978 (= *Nouvelle Clio*, 6).

l'action, mais aussi par ses modes d'expression: codes de comportement et de communication... Au moment où l'expédition d'Alexandre les met en contact, la plupart des modes d'expression de la culture grecque sont encore créatifs et les tendances qu'on y décèle remontent au début du IVe siècle. Ceux des cultures orientales paraissent plus fidèles à leur long passé.

Disons tout de suite qu'à l'époque hellénistique, à part quelques marges de contact, la culture grecque n'a ni remplacé, ni absorbé celle des peuples à côté ou au-dessus desquels les Grecs se sont installés... il faut, en Égypte comme en Syrie, attendre l'Empire Romain pour voir se développer des formes mixtes...».[71]

Toutefois, le passé pharaonique n'était pas totalement dissimulé aux yeux des chrétiens qui, à maintes reprises, s'installèrent en des endroits précédemment occupés: des tombes devinrent des oratoires, des temples furent transformés en églises..., témoignage de la continuité de la sacralité de certains lieux privilégiés.[72]

M. Rassart-Debergh

71. *Ibidem*, p. 661.

72. M. Rassart-Debergh, *L'Égypte chrétienne telle qu'elle a été vue par les voyageurs au début du XIXe s.*, dans *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 25 (1981), pp. 79-113, spéc. p. 113.



Fig. 1 Saqqara, Colonnes de la «Main Church»: motifs animaliers et draperies D'après Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)*, Le Caire, 1909, pl. XI, 1.

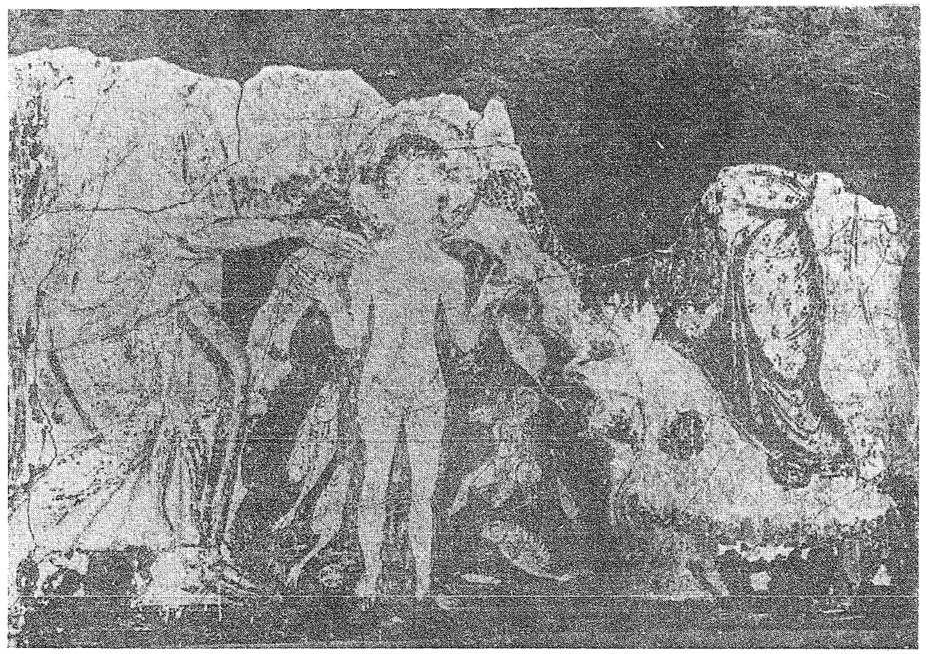


Fig. 2 Baouit, chapelle 30: Baptême du Christ. D'après Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, Le Caire, 1916 (= Mifao, 39), pl. V, a.

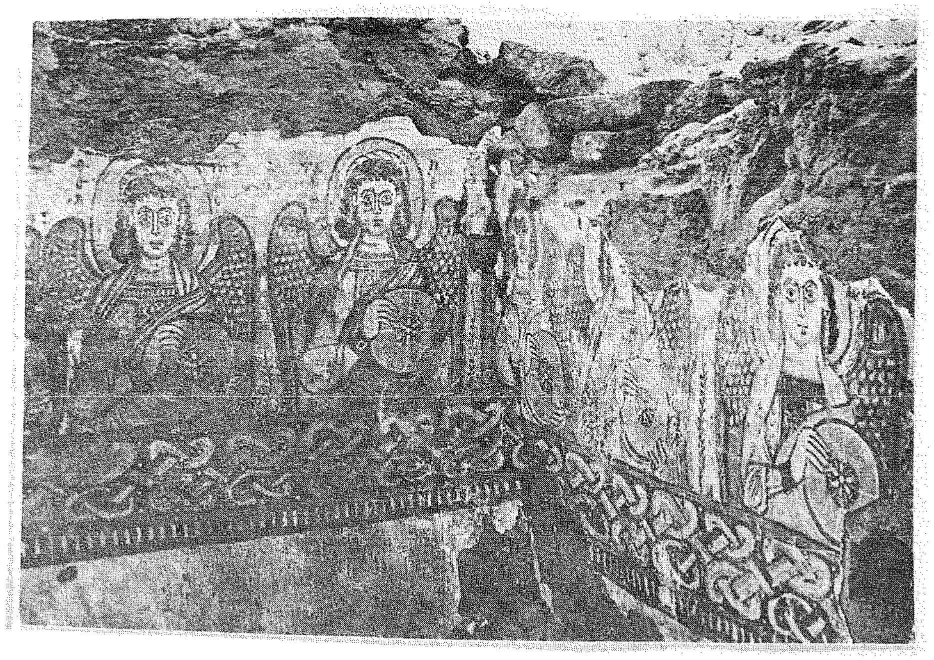


Fig. 3 Saqqara, chambre 709: Vertus de l'Esprit
D'après Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)*, pl. X.



Fig. 4 Touna el Gebel, maison 21: Cycle d'Oedipe
D'après Sami Gabra, Maspero, *Touna el Gebel* (cité n. 31), pl. 15.



Fig. 5 Faras, Cathédrale: Julien terrassé par St. Mercure. Cliché: Jacques Debergh.

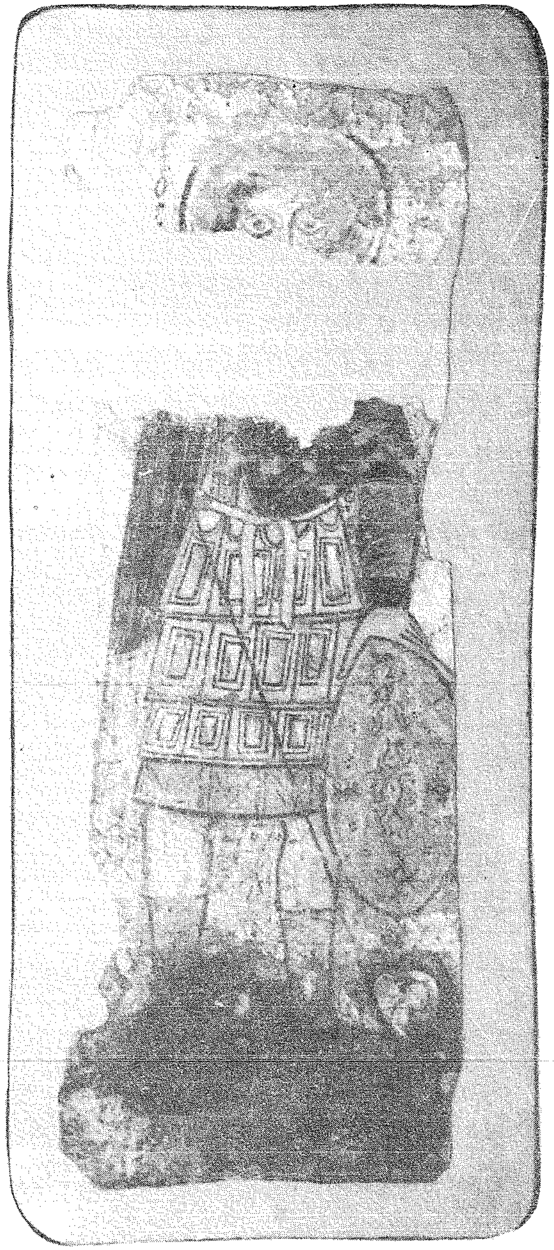


Fig. 6a Faras, Cathédrale: St. Georges tuant un serpent. Cliché: Jacques Debergh.



Fig. 6b Faras, Cathédrale: détail du Mal mis à mort. Cliché: Jacques Debergh

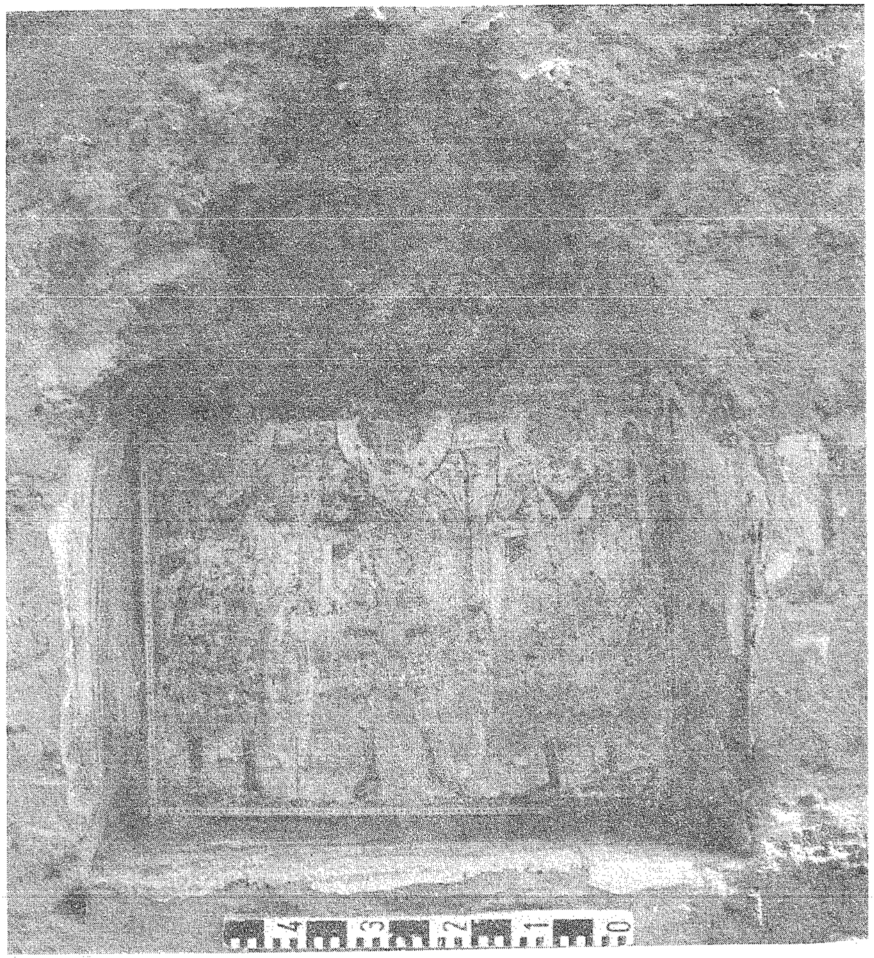


Fig. 7 Kellia. Qouçoûr el Izeila: saints guerriers.
Cliché: Mission Internationale dirigée par l'Université de Genève.

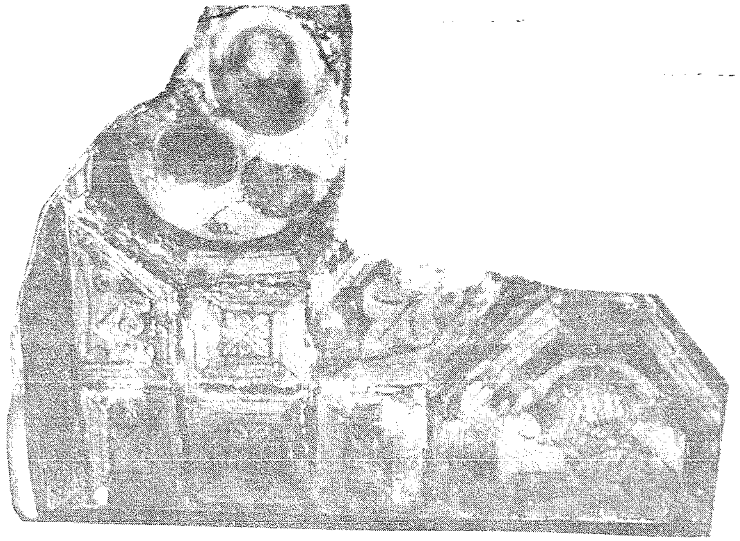


Fig. 8 Kom Abou Girgeh, plafond de la crypte: caissons. Cliché: Jacques Debergh.

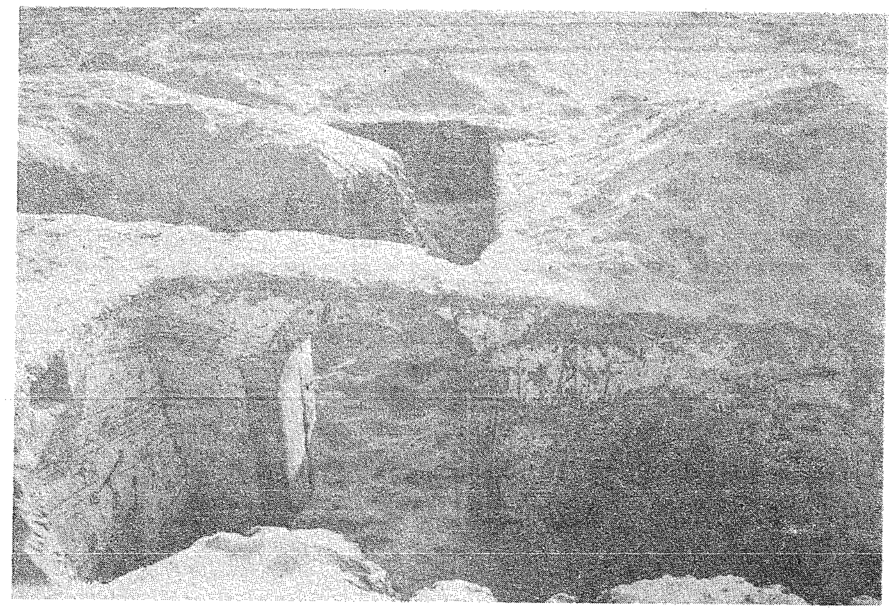


Fig. 9 Kellia. Qouçoûr er-Roubayat: vue générale d'un kom
Cliché: Mission Intern. dirigée par l'Université de Genève.

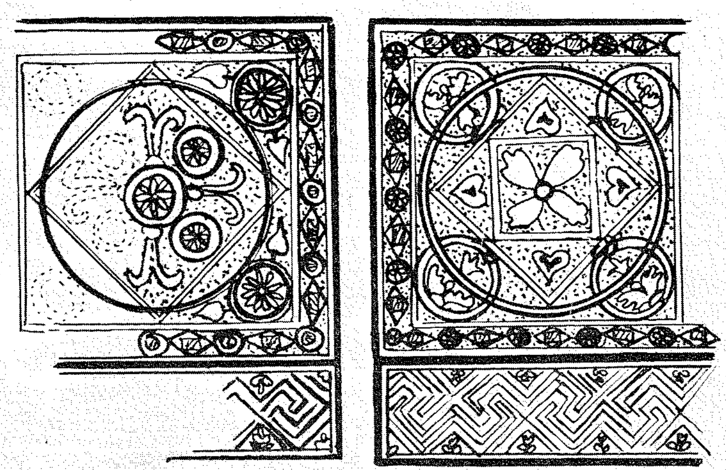


Fig. 10 Saqqara, chambre 1714: soubassement
D'après M. Rassart-Debergh, *Saqqara* (cité n. 27), fig. 41.

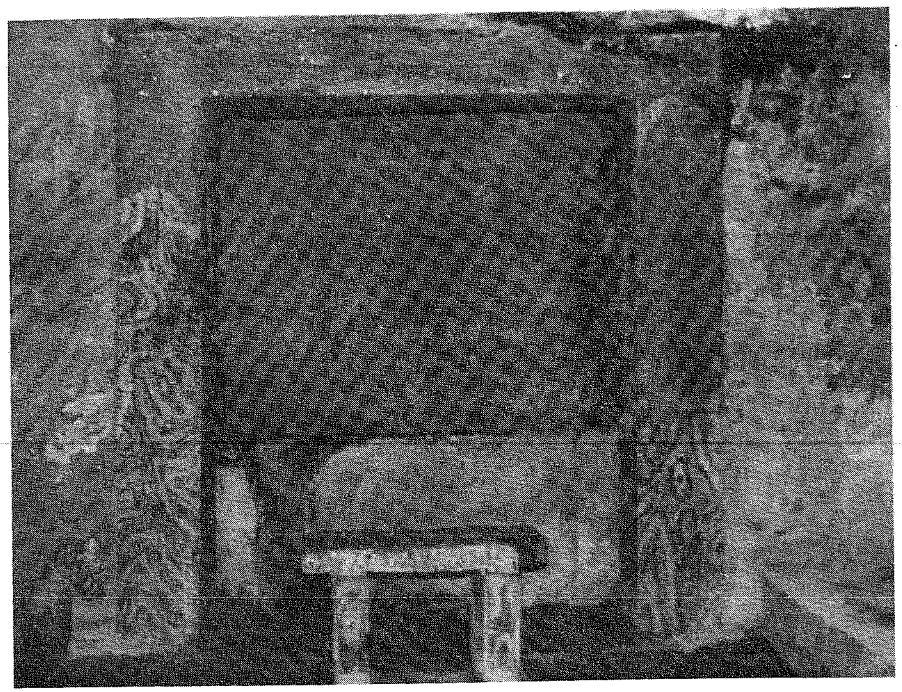


Fig. 11 Alexandrie, nécropole de Mustafa Pacha, hypogée 2: niche. Cliché: Jacques Debergh.

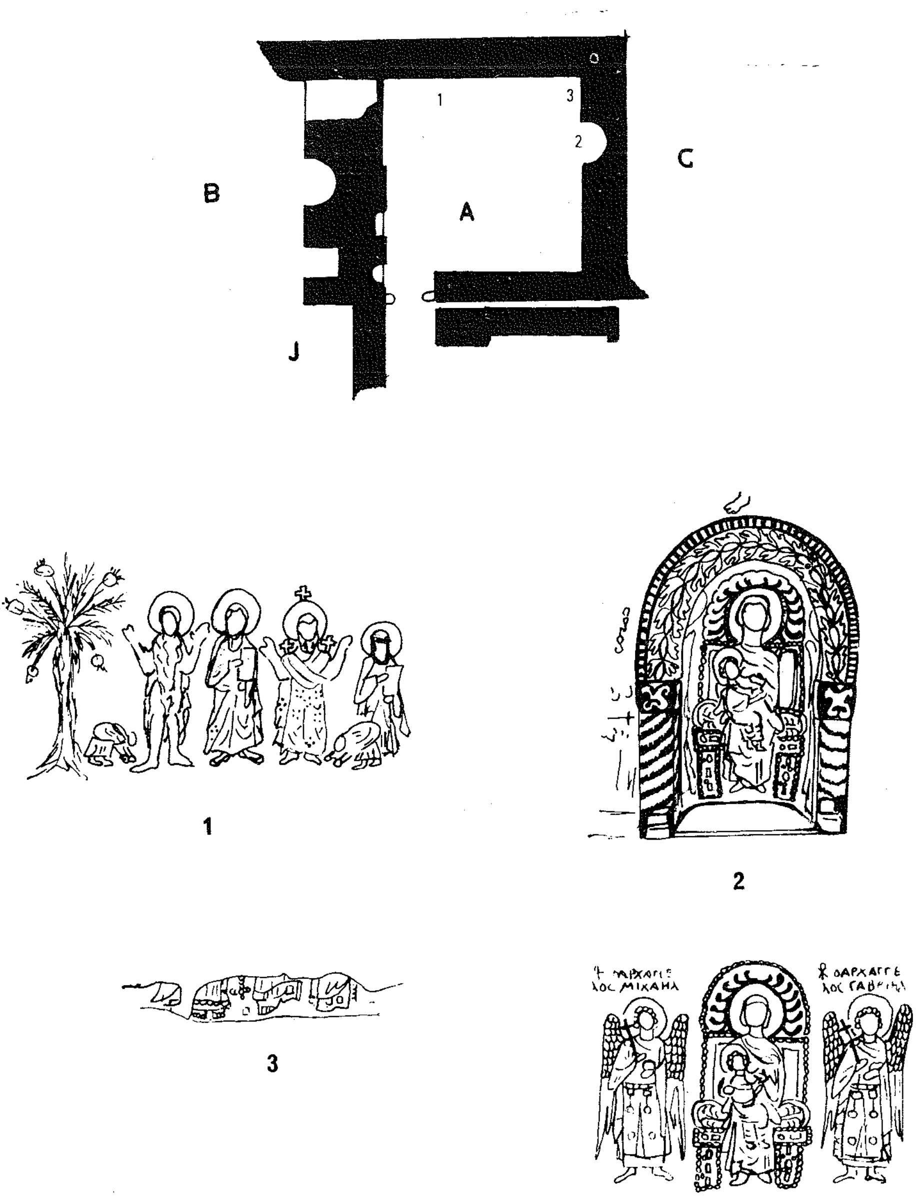


Fig. 12 Saqqara, cellule A: ensemble des décors
D'après M. Rassart-Debergh, *Saqqara* (cité n. 27), fig. 15.



Fig. 13 Baouit, chapelle 6: Maiestas, Vierge à l'enfant et Apôtres
D'après J. Maspero, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît.*
Notes mises en ordre et éditées par E. Drioton, Le Caire, 1943
(= Mifao, 59, 2), pl. XXI.

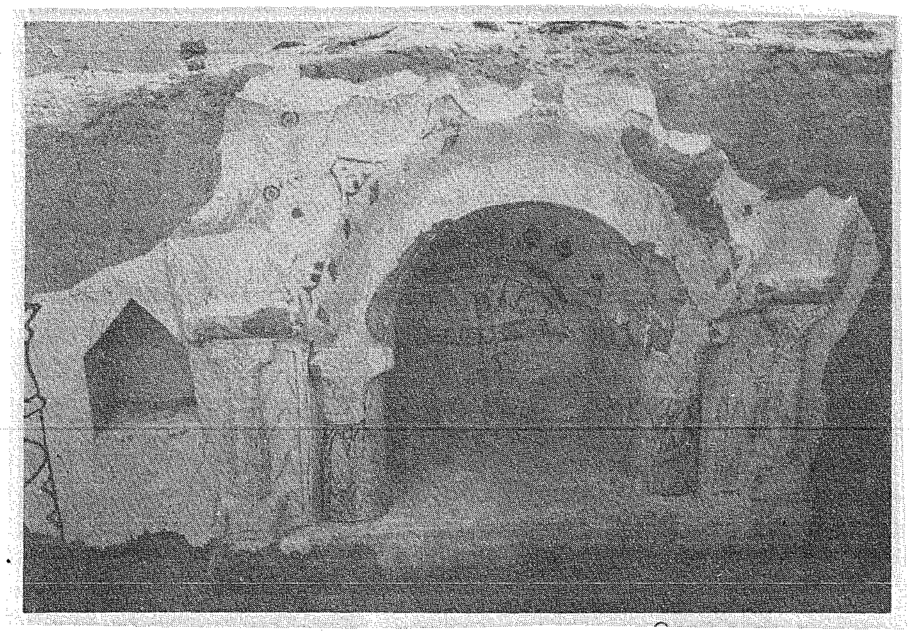


Fig. 14 Kellia, Qouçoûr er-Roubayat: niche avec croix
Cliché: Mission Intern. dirigée par l'Université de Genève.



Fig. 15 Kom Abou Girgeh: St. Ménas (en haut), panneaux imitant le marbre (en bas)
Cliché: Jacques Debergh.

GREEK STUDIES ON ARAB ART TREASURES
A BENAKI MUSEUM PROJECT

Islamic studies have not so far flourished in Greece, for a multitude of reasons which would be unwise to enumerate, as it would lead us away from the main purpose of this summary discussion. It might however be of interest to briefly mention the total lack of Departments of Islamic studies in our Universities and the absence of specialised research centres. This dearth exists despite the close contacts that existed, both political and cultural, between Hellenism and Islam, from the Byzantine period to our days and perhaps because conditions have not been propitious in apprehending Islam's particular physiognomy and thus allow a mutual cultural approach.

In the last few years, this situation has fortunately begun to change, thanks to the publication of the periodical *Graeco-arabica*, the beginning of teaching of Arabic History at the University of Athens, the institution of state scholarships and grants for Arabic and Islamic studies abroad and the inauguration of international Congresses on Greek and Arabic Studies in Athens. However, it still remains an unquestionable fact that for the moment, and until such time as these first efforts bear fruit and become more intensive, the average Greeks' knowledge of Arab history and culture does not yet deserve very high marks.

As early as the 1930 s', the year the Benaki Museum was founded in Athens, the Greek public has had access to the Museum's comprehensive collections of Islamic art dating from the 7th to the 19th century. Not only these collections contain objects of historical significance but also many are important art historical documents as well as been aesthetically appealing.

Yet, the Benaki Museum's reputation as containing one of the richest collections of Islamic art has only been recently fully acknowledged, especially after the Museum's Islamic material became more accessible to the wider international public. In 1972, an exhibition of Persian Art was organised in Athens,[1] and in 1976 a number of pieces travelled to the Persian Gulf to the exhibition «Falconry in

1. *Persian Art in the Benaki Museum* (exhibition catalogue) 20 Mars-31 May, 1972.

Islam» at Abu-Dhabi.[2] The same year, a number of objects were sent to London for the Festival of Islam exposition: The «Arts of Islam»[3] at the Hayward Gallery and «Science and Technology of Islam»[4] at the Science Museum. Recently, some valuable objects were in the United States, travelling from city to city as part of the International exhibition, «The Heritage of Islam».

Countless surprises, however, still lie in store for us, thanks to our «excavations», into the vast material of the Islamic collections at the Benaki Museum, and especially into the considerable stock of treasures that have not yet been exhibited. New discoveries, precious new works of art keep cropping up, adding themselves to the ones already known thus filling the gaps in certain fields. Six years ago, when the systematic research into the Islamic collection was entrusted to the Islamologist Helen Philon, intensive work started on the classification, photographing and filing of thousands of items with thouroughly up-to-date methods and techniques.

The result of these efforts materialised in a major exhibition in 1980, «Islamic Art at the Benaki Museum»[5] and the concurrent launching of the Museum's publication programme with the first volume, in a 9 volumes series: *Early Islamic Ceramics*.[6] This first volume dealing with early ceramic examples, 9th to late 12th century, discovered in Egypt, is a comprehensive catalogue discussing shapes, designs, influences, iconographic motifs and thus can also serve as an introduction to Islamic Art for the general public. While working on the objects belonging to these centuries, a new bowl was assembled from different fragments that helped in redating the figural styles of Fatimid Egypt (fig. 1) (Inv No 19376).[7]

Two more volumes will be devoted to the Museum's ceramic collections. Vol. II will deal with the ceramic products from Syria and Egypt covering a period from the late 12th to circa 1500, while vol. III will concentrate on the material from the Ottoman period (Fig. 2) (Inv No. 8).[8]

Amongst the Museum's most important groups is the collection of wood, bone, and ivory carvings. To this study, the IVth volume will be dedicated. Special attention will be given to the double door-panels from Baghdad,[9] one of the

2. The book that was published for this event at U.A.E., containing many examples relating to the subject matter of the exhibition, was not available to me while writing this paper.

3. *The Arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery 8 April-4 July, London, 1976, pp. 385-391.

4. *Science and Technology in Islam*, Science Museum, London, World of Islam Festival, 1976.

5. Helen Philon, *Islamic Art*, (exhibition catalogue), Athens, 1980.

6. Helen Philon, *Early Islamic Ceramics*, London, 1980.

7. Philon, *ibid.*: Pl. XXV.

8. Inv. No. 8: see *Exposition d'Art Musulman, les Amis de l'Art*, Alexandrie, 1925, pl. 22; *Κεραμικά Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας*, 1969.

9. Edmond Pauty, «Sur une Porte en Bois Sculpté provenant de Bagdad», *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. XXX, 1930, pp. 77-81, *Arts of Islam* see Note 3, p. 391, fig. 660; *Islamic Art*, see Note 5, fig. 54.

most impressive creations of Islamic art, displaying the use of late classical motifs, their absorption by Islam and their subsequent transformation in an undeniably Islamic visual vocabulary (Fig. 3) (Inv. No. 9121).

Numerous are the bone and ivory carvings from the 7th to the 15th century. Some, as the 7th century examples from Egypt and Syria closely follow late classical traditions, others such as a 14th century Mamluk casket (Fig. 4) (Inv. No 10635) are typical of this period distinguished by the repetition of the same pattern.

Textiles are perhaps the Museum's most important Islamic collection (vols V and VI). Dated pieces from Egypt are valuable historical and artistic documents (Fig. 5) and range from the 9th to the 12th century.[10] Others belonging to later periods and originating in Egypt, Syria, Iran and Turkey (Fig. 6) (Inv. No 3888) display the different weaving and stitching techniques and designs that evolved under the influence of Far-Eastern and European fabrics which started appearing in the Islamic markets circa 1300.

Metalwork, one of the fields of Islamic Art in which artists excelled, are also rather well represented in the Museum though not as extensive as the ceramic or textile collections. Several of the pieces which will be discussed in vol. VII are of particular interest as is the case of a candlestick[11] (Fig. 7) (Inv. No. 13083) decorated with inlaid silver and gold. This piece is of particular interest, for its history as well as its designs. Human figures, the twelve signs of the zodiac, and calligraphic inscriptions informing us that it was made for some un-named Sultan, probably the Ortuqid Sultan of Mardîn, Shams al-Dîn Salih (1312-1363-4). At a later date its owner Mirjan Aqa, the governor of Sultan Uljaytû, in Baghdad (died in 1374) defaced it in order to offer it to the Prophet's sanctuary in Mecca. The delightful lines «May Happiness be a companion, may fortune be a friend» can be read on a Persian inkwell of the 16th century, signed by Mirak Husain Yazdi,[12] expressing Persia's poetic and mystical nature.

Islamic gold Jewellery relatively rare in European Collections are also rather well represented in the Museum (Fig. 8) (Inv. No. 1856) especially those from the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.[13] Qajar enamelled and bejewelled examples are indeed numerous in the Museum and these together with the earlier pieces will be discussed in the volume IX.

10. A few examples were published by Ét. Combe, «Tissus Fātimides du Musée Benaki», *Mélanges Maspero III, Orient Islamique*, Cairo, 1940, pp. 259-272.

11. *Exposition d'Art Musulman, Les Amis de l'Art*, Alexandrie, 1925, p. 69, No. 366 and album, p. 11, pl. 13; Étienne Combe, «Cinq Cuivres Musulmans datés des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles, de la collection Benaki», *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. XXX, 1930, pp. 51-54; *Islamic Art*, see Note 5, p. 9, fig. 113.

12. *Islamic Art*, see Note 5, p. 47, No. 242.

13. A few examples can be seen in the *Arts of Islam*, see Footnote 3, Figs. 651-655.

There are several pieces in the Museum which do not form large groups worth dedicating specific volumes for their presentation. These will be included in a separate volume (VIII). Some of these examples are outstanding examples of Islamic Art, such as a group of Egyptian tombstones from the 9th century, a collection of glass weights, a few ink-drawings from the 10th to the 14th century as well as two Mamluk playing cards. Perhaps one of the most interesting exhibits that will be presented in this volume, is a late 10th century mat from Tiberias (Fig. 9).[14] The beautiful Cairene 17th century reception hall, with its beautifully decorated inlaid marble floor and its fountains, will also be included in this volume.

Though this partly describes the Museum's publication programme launched in 1981, yet after the second world war the eminent Islamic art historian and Glass specialist Carl Johann Lamm had started work on the Museum's Islamic Glass collection. His untimely death prevented him from completing this project which was taken up by Christoph W. Clairmont. Based on Lamm's notes Clairmont published the Benaki *Catalogue of Ancient and Islamic Glass*, in 1977. Financial problems did not however permit the inclusion of colour plates in this volume, which contains some representative examples of Islamic glass work, such as a mould-blown flattened ellipsoidal vessel decorated with the typical repertoire of Fatimid Egypt:[15] rosettes, abstract leaf motifs and a stylised hare. To Fatimid Egypt also belong a number of small specimens in rock-crystal. Amongst the most beautiful examples of Arab glass are the Syrian + Egyptian pieces decorated in enamelled and gold colours.[16] A mosque lamp was made for the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Kujuk (Fig. 10) who reigned in 1341-42, and an egg-shaped ornament from the chain of a mosque lamp bears the name of Sultan Hasan who reigned from 1347 to 1361 with interruptions.

All the items I have so far mentioned relate to the art history of Islam and in particular Arab art, I would however like to end this discussion with one of the most important and innovative aspects of Arab culture: science. Indeed the bronze astrolabe by the most famous Arab scientist of the middle Ages, Ibn al-Sarraj, was made in Syria in 1328-29[17] and subsequently came to the possession of a number of well known Arab astronomers before finding refuge in the Benaki Museum (Fig. 11). This unique instrument first became known at the Islamic exhibition that took place in London in 1976,[18] and its analytical study is soon to be published by David King.

The material I have briefly described, is but a small part of what exists in the Museum, but it may help in giving an idea of the Museum's collections, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

We hope that these collections will finally find their ultimate fullfilment by being presented in an environment of their own, where each object will be shown in its proper cultural context, thus becoming both aesthetically appealing as well as historically informative.

A. Delivorrias

14. *Islamic Art*, see Note 5, p. 28, No. 109.
15. Clairmont, Pl. XX.
16. *Ibid.* pls. XXIV-XXX.
17. *Islamic Art*, see Note 5, No. 217, p. 45.
18. See Note 4, No. 61.



Figure 1



Figure 2

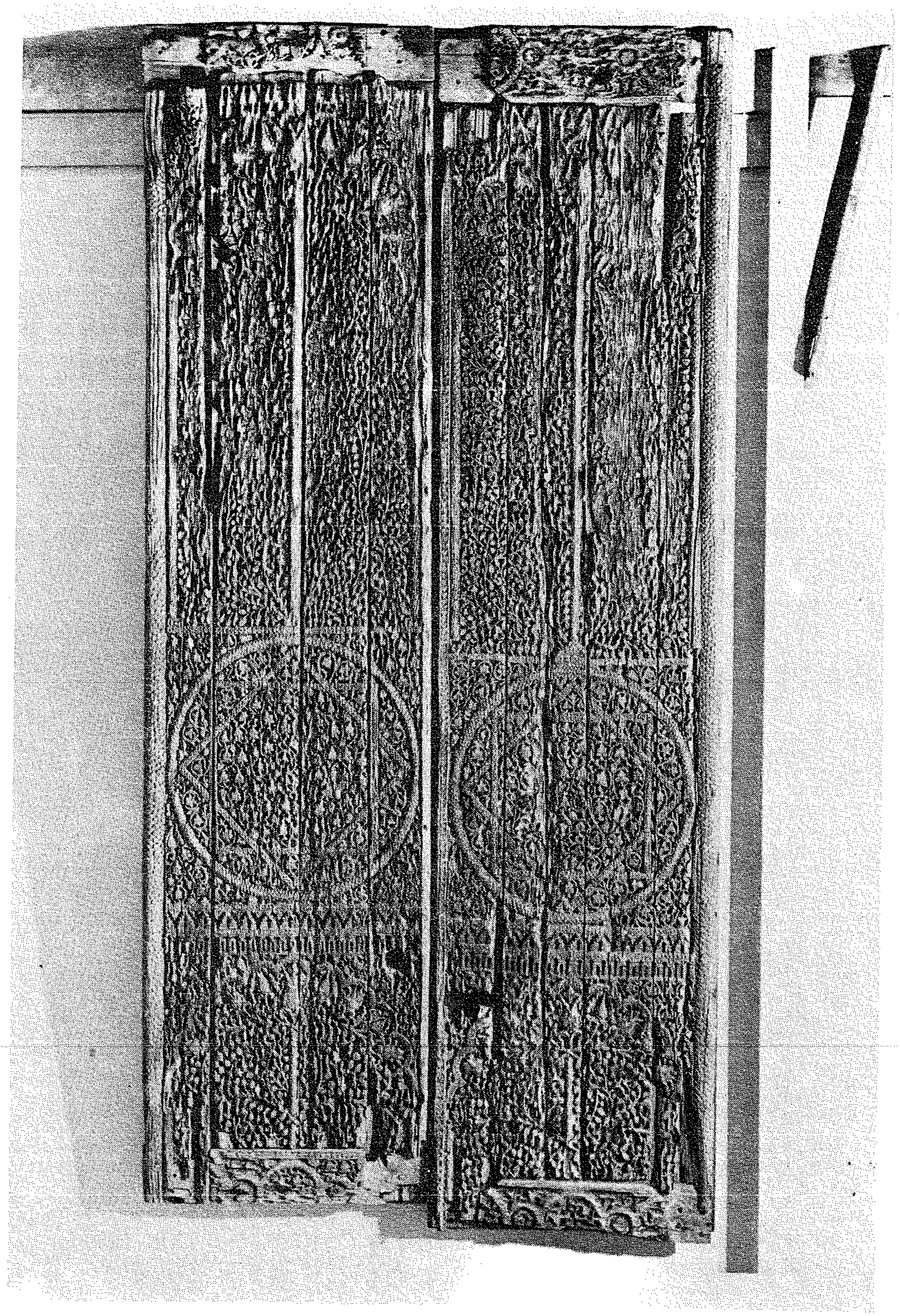


Figure 3

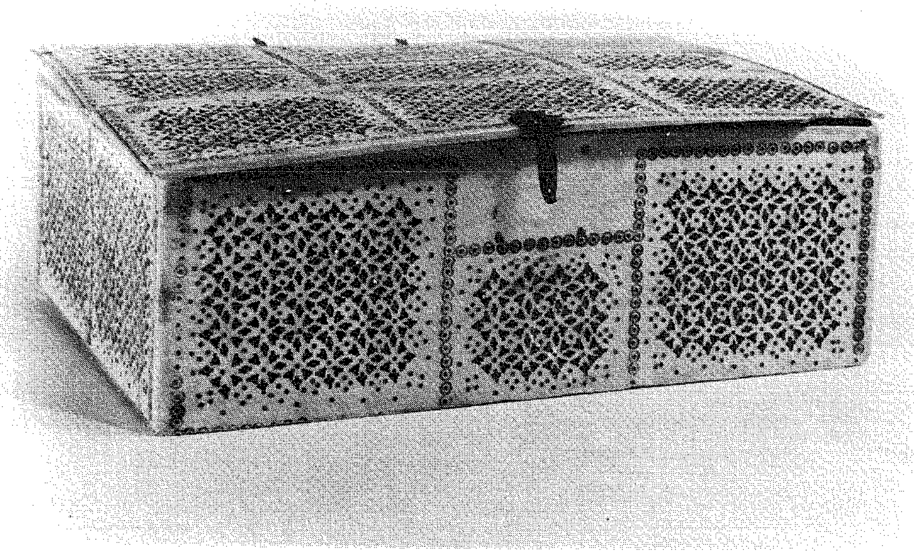


Figure 4

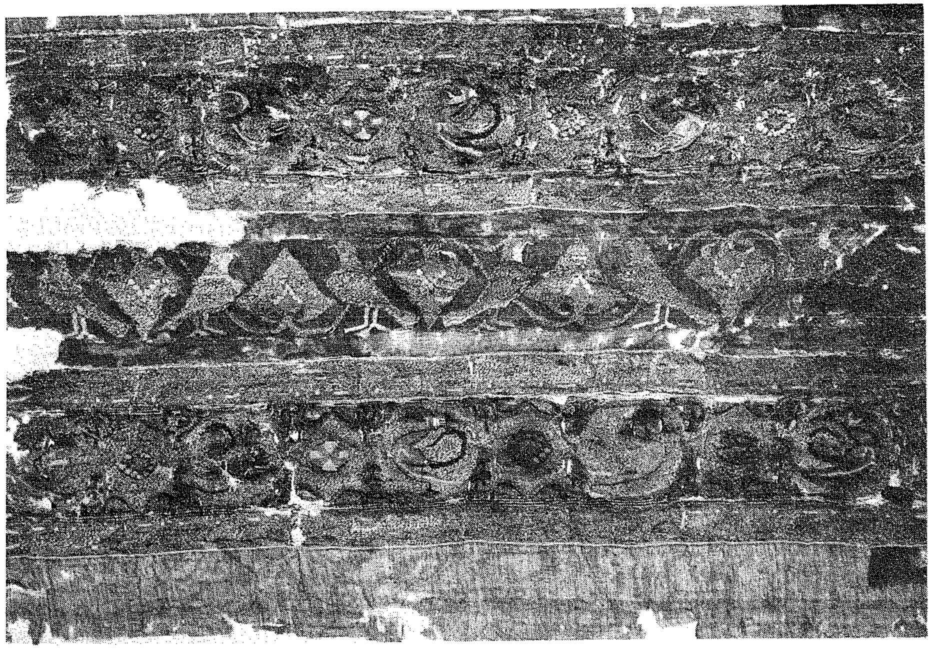


Figure 5

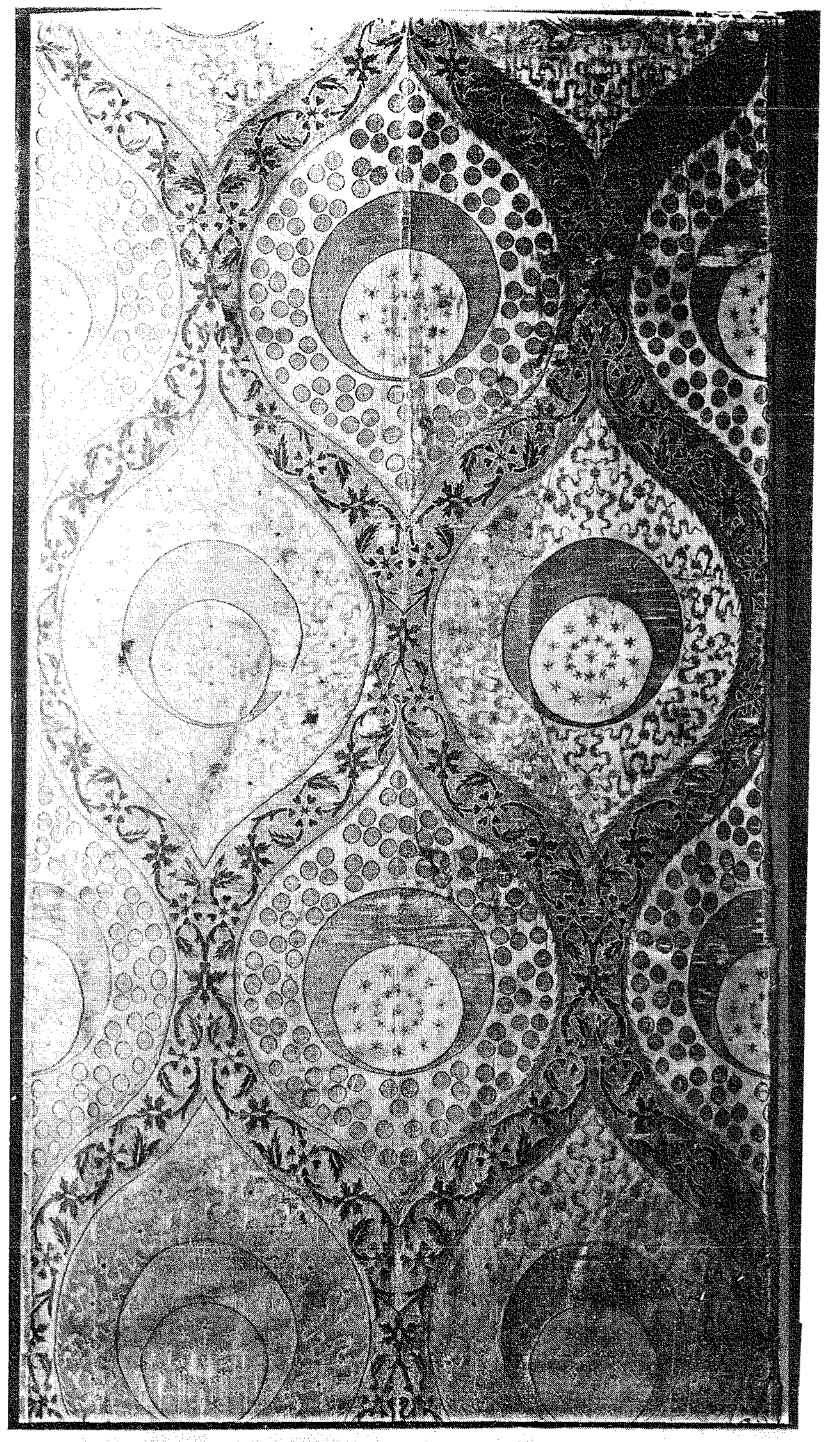


Figure 6



Figure 7

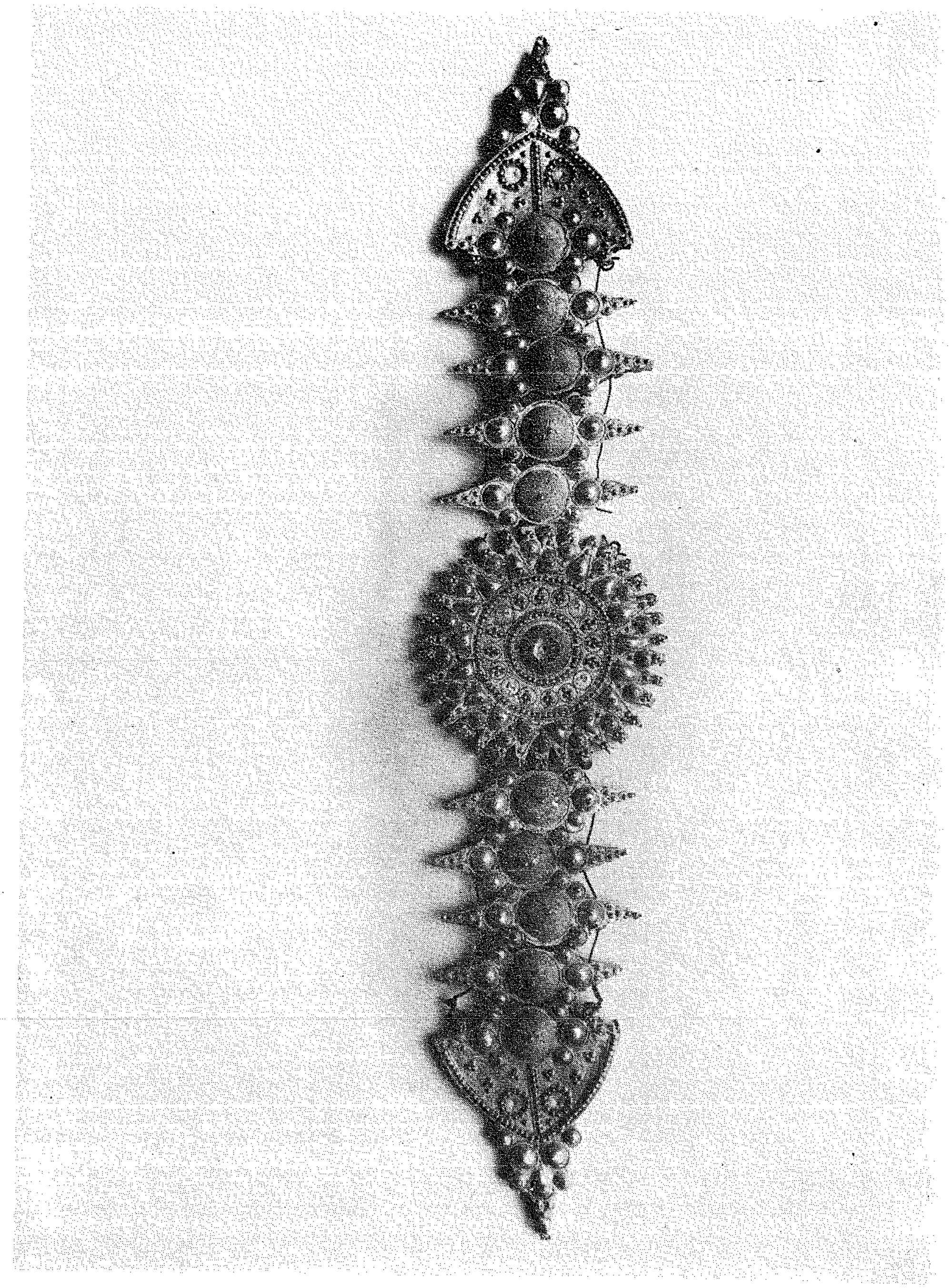


Figure 8

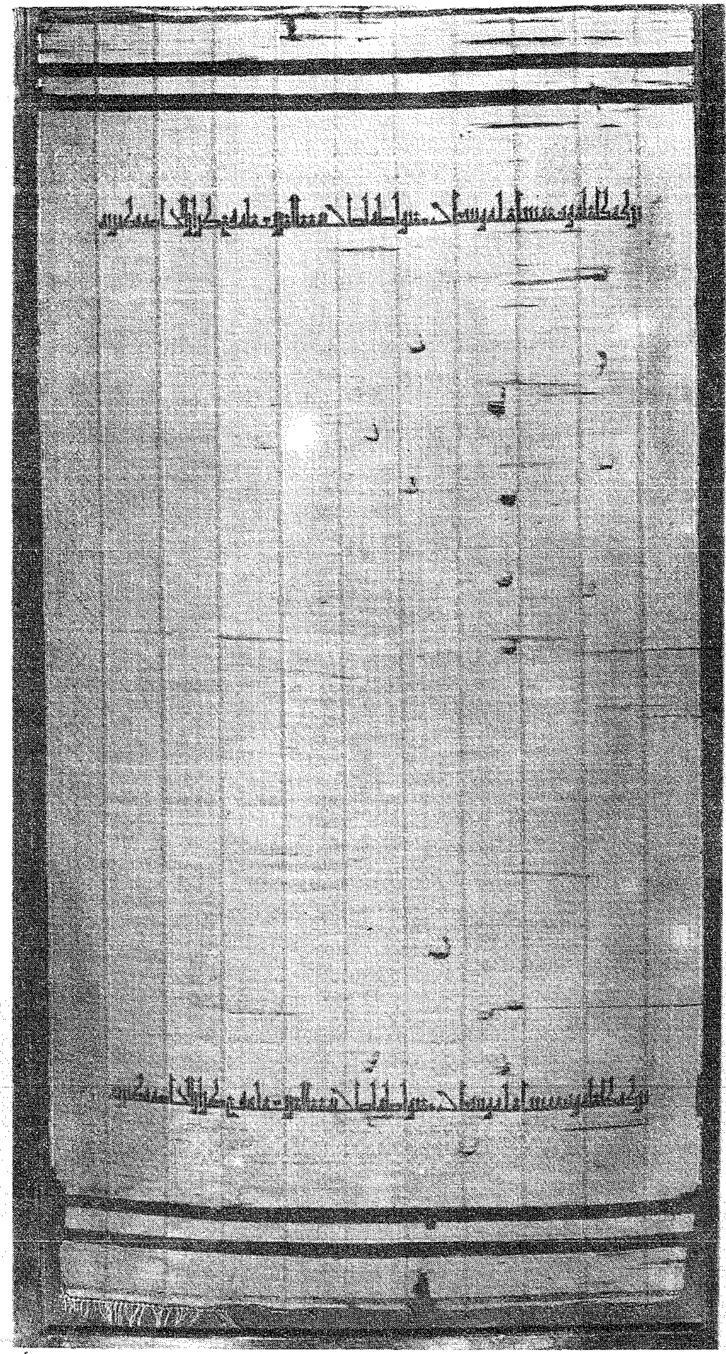


Figure 9



Figure 10

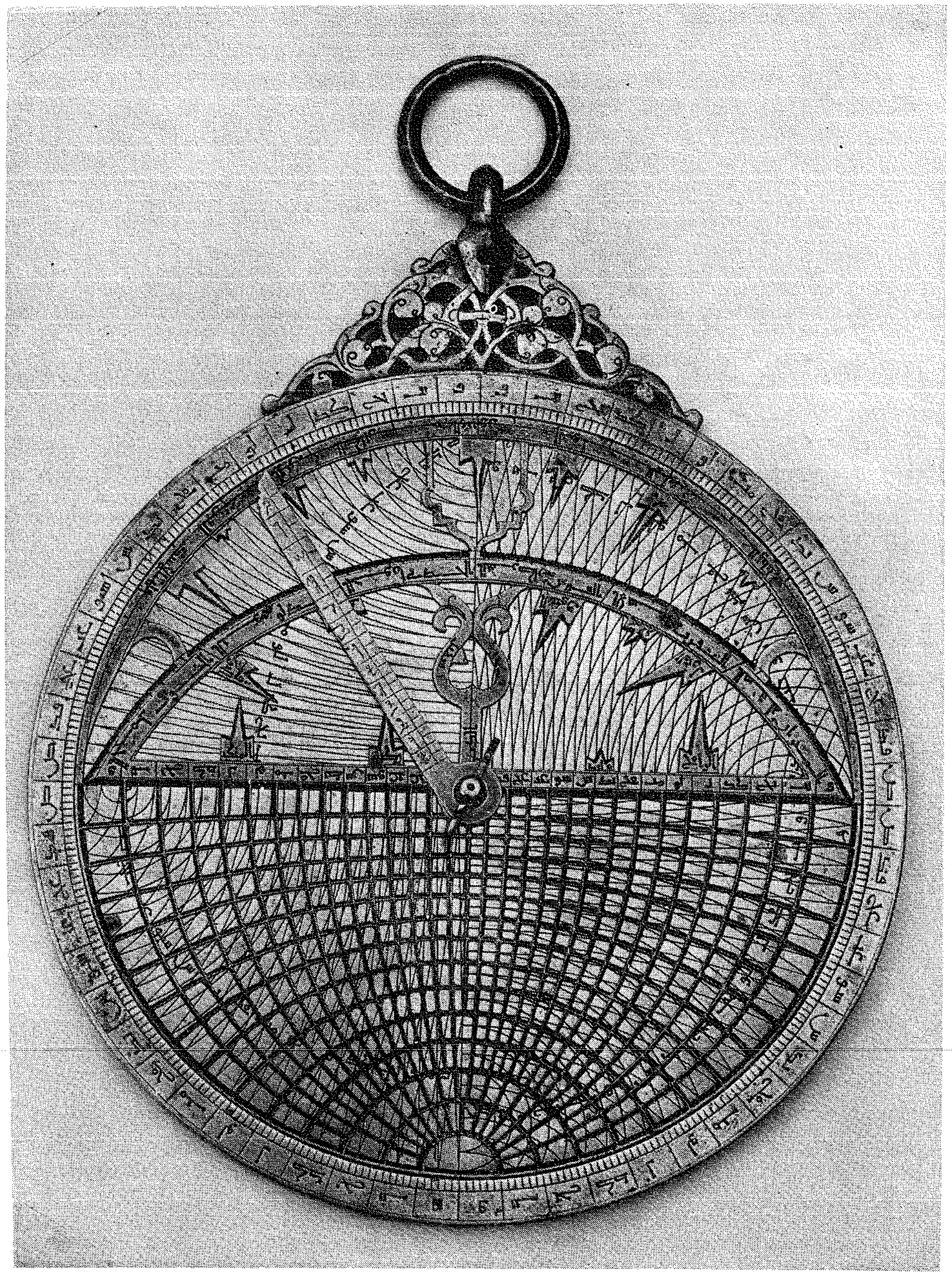


Figure 11

A MAMLUK DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS

Several fragments unearthed in Egypt were once part of a large dish made in either Syria or Egypt sometime in the first half of the 14th century.[1]

At present these fragments are in the collections of the Benaki Museum, Athens[2] and in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo.[3] The piece to which these sherds belonged was a dish with everted rim, thrown in a pale yellow gritty paste, covered with a white slip and painted in blue, black, turquoise and mustard-brown, under a clear greenish glaze. The anonymous painter of this vessel has described the Deposition from the Cross one of the main iconographic themes of Christ's Passion (see Fig. 1). The Christian theme painted on this object of Islamic origin raises a number of interesting questions relating to both the art-historical and the socio-political landscape of the culture that produced it.

However as these queries will be examined in the Museum's forthcoming publication, here we propose to describe solely the scene depicted on this dish and briefly discuss its iconographic origins and stylistic affiliations.

The cross defines the centre of the pictorial plane occupied by the most significant moment of the narrated event. Christ has been disengaged from the arms of the cross, seen in the background, and his body held by Joseph situated between the dead Christ and the cross, leans towards the left. The Mother of God embraces his chest with covered arms and her face tenderly touches that of her divine son. Joseph looks at the dead Christ, while Theotokos' gaze wanders beyond the pictorial plane with abiding grief. Standing beside the Mother of God are the two Maries. The one at the extreme left is pictured with one arm resting on her chest denoting pain, while the other is opened in a movement of supplication. The other Mary, in the middle, is shown in a more meditative and sorrowful mood, implied by the posture of her head resting on the open palm of her hand. Above her we notice the remains of a nimbus, implying the presence of yet another person at

1. This piece will be fully discussed in the forthcoming publication of the Benaki Museum's Catalogue of Islamic Art, vol. II, *Later Islamic Ceramics from Egypt*. Here only a few preliminary thoughts are presented.

2. Bahgat, *Égyptienne*, pl. 123.

3. Hassan, pl. 3.

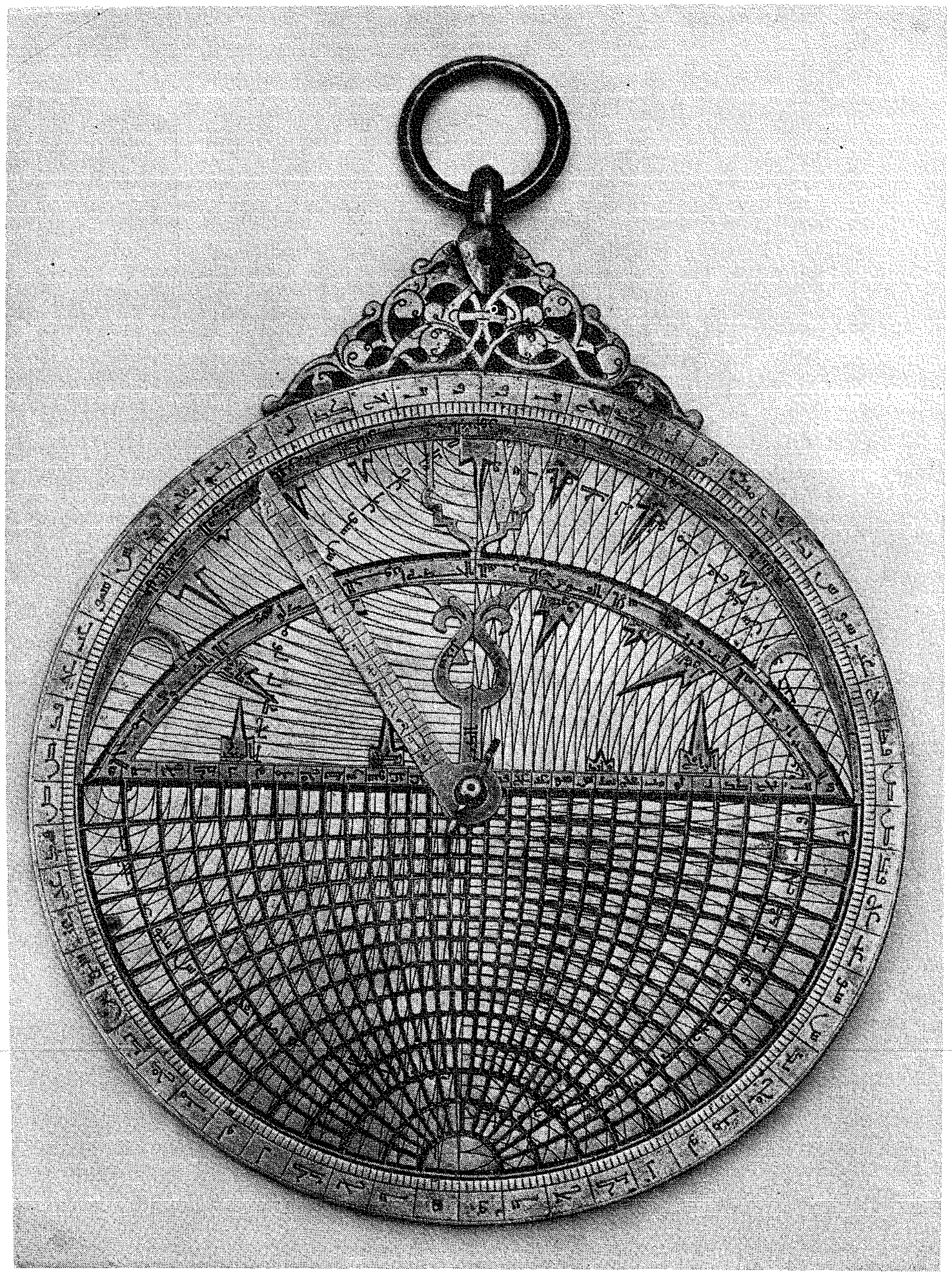


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the scene. The face that we now see was painted when the bowl was restored in recent years and does not appear to copy an existing fragment. To the right of Joseph, the fragmentary figure with long hair and without a beard, is probably St. John, portrayed in a similar posture to that of the Mary situated next to the Mother of God. Framing the heads of all those witnessing the event are dotted nimbuses, while that of Christ is decorated with a cross. The three women are probably dressed in maphorion, while the garments of the other figures are not clear as only part of the object has survived. Leaf forms in relief, with double dots decorate the interstices. Against a background of Chinese looking clouds that can be seen above the arms of the cross, two angels, with covered and outstretched arms concealing their faces, crown the existing composition. If we compare the Deposition described on this vessel to the laconic references of the event in the Gospels,[4] it becomes apparent that apart from Joseph mentioned by all Evangelists, one of the principal actors Nicodemus, referred to in the Gospel according to St. John, is absent, probably due to the fragmentary state of the object, while the two Maries, St. John and the Mother of God are present, though omitted in the Gospel's narrative. Their inclusion is due to the fact that the Deposition iconography does not originate in the New Testament but is rooted in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.[5] Regarding Nicodemus' station, we notice that on a number of examples he is either shown kneeling beside the cross trying to remove the nails from Christ's feet,[6] or is in the process of detaching Christ's hand from one of the arms of the cross.[7] As Christ's arms are no longer attached to the Cross on the presently discussed piece, Nicodemus was probably placed below St. John, genuflecting or bending over Christ's feet with his pliers. The first mentioned scheme originates in Cappadocia while the second in Constantinople, but from the 11th century the bending or kneeling Nicodemus is also adopted by Constantinopolitan artists.[8]

Though Cappadocia and Constantinople, after the iconoclastic débacle and the re-instatement of icons as an integral part of the orthodox faith, began to develop the iconographic cycle of Christ's Passion along different lines,[9] yet these centres together with the Syro-Palestinian school do not create in isolation but influence each other, evolving in time varied iconographic schemes for Christ's Deposition from the Cross, that influence both Eastern and Western Christendom. 9th and 10th centuries Constantinopolitan Depositions are greatly indebted to the

4. Mathew: 27, 57-59; Mark: 15, 45-46; Luke: 23, 50-53; John: 19, 38-40.
5. Migne, vol. 100, col. 1488 A.
6. Restle, vol. II, figs. 77, 93; Leroy, vol. II, p. 91, figs. 1 and 2.
7. Millet, *Recherches*, figs. 493-496.
8. Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, Pl. LXVIII; Chatzidakis-Grabar, No. 46, fig. 91.
9. Nagatsuka, pp. 7-26.

Crucifixion imagery as can be seen from a number of examples.[10]

Syro-Palestinian representations, though admittedly of the 13th century, tend towards a more symmetrical arrangement of the figures, depicting Christ with his arms detached from the cross and held or kissed by his Mother and St. John.[11]

A Coptic Gospel of the late 12th century might point to earlier traditions as we see Joseph supporting Christ's body and instead of Nicodemus, a servant is trying to remove the nails from Christ's hand while the Mother of God and St. John have been replaced by two mourners.[12]

The most innovative and varied iconographic schemes were however developed in Cappadocia as early as the 10th century and it is these prototypes that will be further advanced in subsequent years in the different Christian centres.[13]

Sometime during the 10th century we notice the appearance of a new detail on Constantinopolitan miniatures: the stool or ladder.[14] Joseph standing on a ladder or a stool embraces Christ's body. The Mother of God kisses her son's freed hand, while Nicodemus also depicted on a ladder or stool tries to remove the nail from Christ's other hand.[15]

Once the ladder or stool was introduced by Byzantine painters the Deposition iconography begins to change by slowly losing certain common elements it had previously shared with the Crucifixion. Instead the Deposition begins to be influenced by another scene related to Christ's Passion, that of the Lamentation.[16]

On a number of 11th century examples Joseph approaches Christ from behind and firmly holds his chest while the Saviour's body leans towards the left. The Mother of God touches Christ's arm and supports his head on hers. The close relationship that has now been established between the Mother of God and her son became possible once Joseph was positioned behind Christ, allowing the Mother to receive her dead son and by doing so strengthening the dramatic aspect of the composition while pointing to the influence of the Threnos iconography on that of the Deposition. This novel reallignment of the figures influenced by the Threnos is clearly seen on a fresco in the crypt of St. Luke in Phocis of the 11th century,[17]

10. Millet, *Recherches*, p. 471, figs. 494-496; Schiller, vol. II., p. 165, fig. 548; Nagatsuka, p. 7, Pl. VIII, IV-101.
11. Leroy, vol. II, p. 91, 1 and 2.
12. Schiller, vol. II, p. 165, fig. 543.
13. Nagatsuka, p. 69 ff.
14. Nagatsuka, p. 19.
15. Millet, *Recherches*, p. 471, fig. 495; Nagatsuka, Pl. XIV, V-B 201; Weitzmann, «Threnos», fig. 7.
16. Nagatsuka, pp. 19-26; see also Weitzmann, «Threnos», pp. 477-479; M. Sotiriou, «Mise au Tombeau-Thrène», *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, Τόμος Ζ', 1973-74, pp. 139-148.
17. Sotiriou, pp. 395-7, fig. 9.

and on other 11th century examples,[18] achieving its ultimate expression on a number of representations from the 12th[19] to the 14th century as can be seen at the Peribleptos in Mistras of the late 14th century.[20]

It becomes apparent that the painter of the Benaki-Cairo bowl had such a prototype in mind, for Joseph depicted rising above Christ must have been standing on a ladder, thus allowing the Mother to come closer to her son.

That Byzantine originals belonging to this iconographic type were known amongst the Christian communities of Egypt and Syria is evidenced by a miniature from a middle 13th century Copto-Arabic Gospel.[21]

Almost all the iconographic details on the presently discussed piece can find parallels in Byzantine originals or their derivations, with the exception of the background designs, cloud patterns, and the dots seen on the maphorion of one of the Maries. Though all the above-mentioned differences exist and are apparent to the beholder the most important deviation from Byzantine originals is the painterly modes and style used to describe this theme.

The human physiognomies suggest the painter's effort to individualise each character. All the faces, except for Joseph's, to which we will return, are oval shaped with heavy jaws, small slanting eyes, straight noses and small mouths indicated by two shorts parallel lines. The Mother of God and St. John phrase a meditative mood suggested by their sorrowful but motionless countenance achieved through simple arched eyebrows. Their temper contrasts with that of the other figures' disposition, where their deep grief is expressed in a more active manner seen in their frowning faces implied by curved eyebrows twisting upwards towards their forehead.

Parallels for the above described facial features can be easily found on manuscripts illustrated in Iraq and Syria in the 13th century, that is, both before and after the Mongol invasions that ruined Baghdad in 1258,[22] and continued to appear throughout the 14th century.[23] Syriac and Copto-Arabic evangelia of the middle 13th century closely follow these painterly modes.[24] It is not surprising to see Christian subjects rendered in the visual vocabulary prevalent at the time, for the painters were under the influences of and found their models in their cultural

18. Nagatsuka, pl. LXVIII, XII-B.

19. Nagatsuka, pls. LXXIV-LXXV, XIII-B; Tania Velmans, «Les valeurs affectives dans la peinture murale Byzantine au XIIIe siècle et la manière de les représenter», *L'Art byzantin du XIIIe siècle*, Symposium de Sopocani, 1965, Beograd, 1967, figs. 6 and 7.

20. Millet, *Mistra*, pl. 122, 3.

21. Millet, *Recherches*, fig. 504.

22. Ettinghausen, pp. 75-79, 91, 99, 114, 121.

23. Haldane, p. 46, 65, 68-71.

24. Leroy, vol. II, pp. 81-89.

environment. Thus we see Islamic and Christian themes sharing the same styles. Nor should we be astonished by the painter's effort to individualise the characters he outlines, as from the late 13th century this tendency is apparent on Islamic miniature painting, to a greater or lesser degree.

Turning to Joseph, we notice that the shape of his face does not strictly comply to Islamic originals, though the eyes, etc. do. The lean appearance of Joseph's visage is further strengthened by the way his beard is rendered, outlined by a thick brush stroke starting at the ear and curving downwards to the chin, the remaining surface filled with thin strokes, combining to form a curl. Such a treatment recalls Byzantine originals[25] but not attested on Islamic examples. The shape of Christ's and Joseph's beards both of which are forked, find parallels on both Byzantine[26] and Mamluk originals of the 14th century.[27] Joseph's drooping moustache[28] and the nervously drawn curls framing Joseph's head can be seen on 14th century Mamluk examples.[29]

So far we have found parallels for the portrayal of our figures in the Arab-Islamic traditions of the 13th and early 14th centuries, though Joseph's appearance in certain aspects seems to come closer to Byzantine models. For the dishevelled hairdo of St. John, however, we have to look elsewhere. On two miniatures from the Demotte Shahnameh, painted in Iran, that is in the Mongol Empire of the Il-Khans and datable to 1330-1340,[30] subjects related to death are represented. One depicts the Death of Alexander the Great,[31] the other narrates the bringing of Isfandiyar's bier,[32] two great heroes of the Persian epic.

In both we see mourners in long dishevelled hair in a striking array of postures and expressions of grief. The way the hair is painted on these miniatures closely resembles the hair of St. John. This, however, is not the only detail that echoes Mongol influences on this Mamluk bowl, for the shape of the clouds against which the angels are flying point to the same origin for this motif.[33] Also related to Mongol Iran is the relief rendering[34] of the clouds, the leaf shapes in the background of the scene and the dots on the maphorion of one Mary, though the dots themselves as a textile design appear on the miniatures from the manuscript

25. Στυλ. Μ. Πελεκανίδης, Π.Κ. Χρήστου, Χ. Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, Σ.Ν. Καδᾶ, *Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, Εἰκονογραφημένα Χειρόγραφα*, vol. I, 1973, fig. 234; vol. III, 1979, figs. 28, 125.

26. Underwood, vol. II, fig. 262, vol. III, 180.

27. Atil, *Arab*, p. 111.

28. Haldane, p. 103, 71; Atil, *Arab*, p. 111.

29. Atil, *Arab*, p. 110; Hill Pl. XVII, XXVI.

30. Gray, pp. 31-34; Schroeder, p. 125, Grube, pp. 25-26; Grabar-Blair, p. 46 ff.

31. Brian, fig. 19; Gray, p. 32; Grabar-Blair, p. 135.

32. Grabar-Blair, p. 101.

33. Ettinghausen, «Mongol», fig. 2.

34. Lane, L.I.P., Pl. 4.

of the Rasā'il Ikhwān as-Safā painted in Baghdad in 1287.[35]

Another aspect that can be linked to the Mongol school of painting is the linear character of the drawing and its wash colour that delineates Joseph's and the Mother of God's garments.[36]

Thus our fragmentary dish appears to be a compendium of decorative techniques, painterly modes, styles, motifs and iconographic themes originating in local Egyptian and Syrian traditions, Mongol Iran and Byzantium. To Byzantium we can trace the theme, to Egyptian and Syrian traditions originate certain stylistic features, and to Mongol Iran, the painterly modes and certain iconographic details.

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35. Ettinghausen, p. 99.
36. Ettinghausen, pp. 138-140; Gray, p. 25, p. 32.

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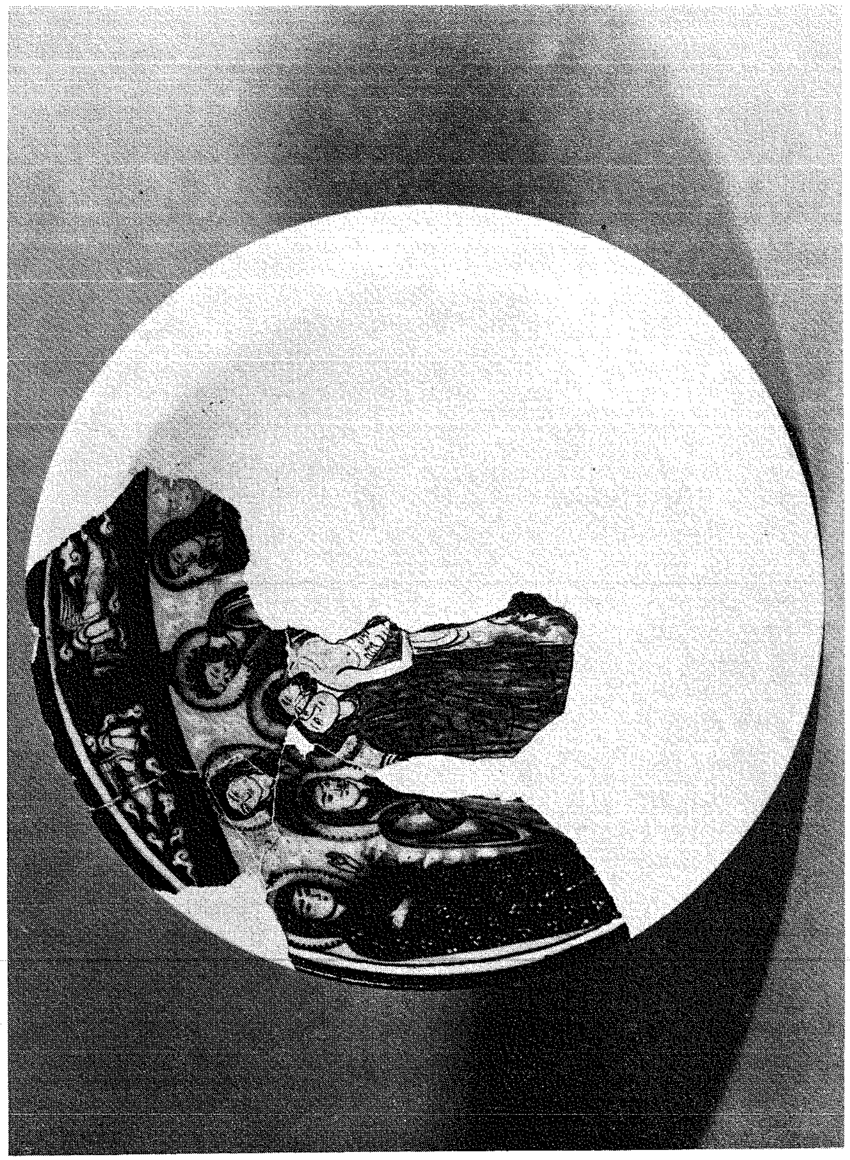


Fig. 1. Deposition from the Cross. Benaki Museum, Athens. Syria or Egypt, early 14th century

L'HELLÉNISME DANS LE ROYAUME DE MÉROË

A en croire Diodore,[1] ce fut seulement sous le règne de Ptolémée II Philadelphe (283-246) que les Grecs pénétrèrent en Éthiopie. Prise au pied de la lettre, cette assertion est assurément fausse. Comme nous l'apprennent des graffiti en langue grecque,[2] des mercenaires grecs passèrent par Abou Simbel en 591 avant notre ère, avec l'armée de Psammétique II. L'un des chefs du corps expéditionnaire se nommait Psammétique fils de Théoclès: c'était donc un Grec égyptianisé ou le fils d'un Grec et d'une Égyptienne. Mais on doit reconnaître que les indices d'un contact direct deviennent très rares ensuite. L'évocation de l'Éthiopie faite par Hérodote[3] en liaison avec la campagne de Cambyse pourrait provenir d'une source grecque, peut-être orale,[4] mais rien ne prouve que des mercenaires grecs aient participé à cette entreprise qui connut l'échec. D'autre part, un très beau rhyton plastique en forme d'Amazone à cheval, œuvre de Sotadès (vers 400 avant notre ère), a été trouvé dans la tombe S 24 de Méroë.[5] C'est la preuve qu'une céramique hellénique de cette qualité était pleinement appréciée dans la capitale kouchite; mais elle a pu être apportée par des intermédiaires qui n'étaient pas grecs. Si l'on ne peut évidemment exclure l'hypothèse que des Grecs furent présents en Nubie avant le règne de Philadelphe, il reste fort admissible que Diodore ait exprimé, de façon quelque peu forcée, une réalité: le règne du second des Ptolémées inaugure enfin entre Grecs et habitants de la Nubie des contacts directs et continus que l'écran égyptien avait jusque là interdits et que le fondateur de la

1. Diodore, I, 37, 5.

2. A. Bernand et O. Masson, *Les inscriptions grecques d'Abou-Simbel*, dans *Rev. des Ét. grecques*, LXX, 1957, p. 1-46. Sur 33 inscriptions en grec, 7 datent du règne de Psammétique II.

3. Hérodote, III, 17-25.

4. Cf. déjà T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Zu den äthiopischen Episoden bei Herodot*, dans *Eranos*, XLIV, 1946, p. 77-80, et surtout D. Herminghausen, *Herodots Angaben über Äthiopien*, Hambourg, 1964, p. 77-80.

5. Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts, n° 21.2286; D. Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, V, Boston, 1963, p. 383; P.L. Shinnie, *Meroe, a Civilization of the Sudan*, Londres, 1967, p. 122; L. Kahil, *Un nouveau vase plastique du potier Sotadès au Musée du Louvre*, dans *Rev. Arch.*, 1972/2, p. 281 et fig. 18-19, p. 283; *Lexicon iconogr. mythol. classicae*, I, 1, Zurich et Munich, 1981, art. *Amazones*, n° 589, p. 624 et I, 2, fig. 589, p. 507 (P. Devambez, catalogue par A. Kauffmann-Samaras).

dynastie lagide avait négligé d'établir, absorbé qu'il était par les luttes entre diadoques dans l'horizon de la Méditerranée orientale.

Pendant la majeure partie de deux siècles et demi, le pouvoir lagide a pu contrôler, selon un statut souple, une fraction de la vallée du Nil, sur environ 120 km au delà de la Ière Cataracte: la Dodécaschène ou pays des Douze Schènes. Vers le milieu du IIe siècle, Ptolémée VI (181-145) étendit même son autorité sur la Triacontaschène, ou pays des Trente Schènes, qui s'avançait vraisemblablement jusqu'à la IIe Cataracte,[6] y fondant, à la manière d'Alexandre et des diadoques, des villes portant les noms dynastiques de Philométoris et de Cléopatra, par ailleurs totalement inconnues de nous. Cette extension de l'emprise lagide fut sans doute de brève durée; du moins dans la Dodécaschène l'Empire romain assuma-t-il l'héritage des rois d'Alexandrie. Or cet empire bilingue avait vocation de devenir en ces régions lointaines un véhicule de l'hellénisme en s'appuyant sur Alexandrie-la-Grande, vivace et constant foyer de culture grecque.

Mais au delà de ces marches assez restreintes que les Ptolémées n'ont même pas toujours maintenues dans leur sphère d'influence, nous savons par nos sources qu'une série de voyageurs grecs, notamment des savants et des chasseurs de fauves, ont pénétré profondément en Nubie dès le IIIe siècle avant notre ère. Pline l'Ancien[7] nous en livre une liste fort connue qui n'est pas exhaustive: un certain Dalion, par exemple, s'était avancé bien au delà de Méroë et Simonide le Jeune resta cinq ans dans la capitale éthiopienne pour y élaborer un traité «de l'Éthiopie». Mieux encore, Diodore[8] nous apprend que, sous le second Ptolémée, le roi d'Éthiopie, Ergaménès, avait reçu une éducation grecque et fait des études de philosophie et qu'il puisa dans cette éducation le courage d'affronter victorieusement le pouvoir des prêtres. C'est sans doute aussi de cette époque qu'il faut

6. La question de la valeur du schène est des plus complexes, cf. A. Schlott, *Die Ausmasse Aegyptens nach altägyptischen Texten*, Tübingen, 1969, p. 120-159. On doit admettre que la Dodécaschène, depuis Assouan jusqu'à Ouadi Maharraqah, fait à peu près 120 km. Il est difficile de donner une autre valeur au schène de la Triacontaschène qu'à celui de la Dodécaschène. Le pays des Trente Schènes s'étendrait donc sur quelque 300 km. Reste à savoir, problème encore en suspens, si la Triacontaschène englobait la Dodécaschène ou lui succédait plus au sud (dossier réuni par J. Desanges, *Les chasseurs d'éléphants d'Abou-Simbel*, dans *Actes du 92e Congrès des Sociétés savantes, section d'archéologie, Strasbourg et Colmar 1967*, Paris, 1970, p. 40-41, n. 54 (cf. aussi p. 39 et n. 53). Dans le premier cas, elle s'étendrait vers le Sud un peu au delà de Faras, à une cinquantaine de kilomètres en aval de la Seconde Cataracte; dans le second cas, elle engloberait et dépasserait quelque peu Semnèh. Il est difficile, en tout cas, d'admettre qu'un verrou naturel comme celui que constitue la Seconde Cataracte ait été négligé à 50 km près. Rien d'essentiel pour notre propos dans le *Lexicon der Ägyptologie*, I, 7, art. *Dodekaschoinos* (A. Sch (wab-Schlott), 1974), col. 1112-1113.

7. Pline l'Ancien, *H.N.*, VI, 183.

8. Diodore, III, 6, 3-4. Que la connaissance du grec ait été dispensée à des jeunes gens de Méroë semble attesté par la découverte, dans cette ville, d'un tambour de colonne sur lequel est gravé un alphabet grec (à Liverpool, inédit, cf. P.L. Shinnie, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

dater des graffiti en grec tracés sur les jambes des deux colosses méridionaux du temple de Ramsès II à Abou Simbel. Ils attestent le passage de chasseurs d'éléphants, d'un cornac et d'un chasseur d'oiseaux qui ne sont pas tous grecs, mais tous hellénophones.[9] Si le trafic des éléphants a dû être rare dans la vallée du Nil, en raison de l'extrême difficulté que présentait l'acheminement des pachydermes par les cataractes,[10] on possède des indices d'un trafic d'oiseaux exotiques et de singes auquel des unités de chasseurs grecs ont dû être mêlées.[11] Il s'agissait essentiellement d'approvisionner le zoo d'Alexandrie.[12]

Bien d'autres Grecs ont dû s'établir, pour quelques années ou même plus durablement, dans le royaume de Méroë. Peut-être fut-ce pour les payer que fut créé, à Mirgissa, un peu en amont de Ouadi Halfa, un atelier monétaire où l'on s'efforçait, au IIe siècle avant notre ère, de copier les monnaies ptolémaïques.[13]

Parmi les données des sources littéraires et épigraphiques dont nous venons d'effectuer un bref rappel, la plus significative nous semble l'affirmation que le roi Ergaménès reçut une éducation grecque, apparemment de quelque philosophe fixé pour un temps à Méroë. Comme Ptolémée I n'a pas eu de politique nubienne, il faut supposer que l'intervention de Philadelphe en Basse-Nubie a déterminé le choix d'une éducation grecque pour un prince certainement tout jeune encore, et donc sensiblement plus jeune que le second Ptolémée. Un autre témoignage des rapports entre les deux dynasties est constitué sans doute par le matériel de la tombe royale Beg. S. 6, celle d'Arakakamani, qui date de la première moitié du IIIe siècle avant notre ère. On trouve là en effet plusieurs objets ptolémaïques[14] certainement importés, peut-être des cadeaux. Ainsi les rois, et sans doute aussi les reines, par delà les vicissitudes politiques, ont contracté des habitudes liées à la culture hellénique, comme en témoigne la relative abondance dans leurs tombes[15] d'une céramique et d'une toreutique d'importation (fioles à huile remplacées plus tard par des balsamaires en verre, amphores, seaux ou bassins de bronze etc.), cadeaux vraisemblablement dans bien des cas, objets appréciés en toute hypothèse, pour eux-mêmes ou pour leur contenu, puisque les souverains ne s'en

9. J. Desanges, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

10. Cl. Préaux, *Sur les communications de l'Éthiopie avec l'Égypte hellénistique*, dans *Chron. d'Égypte*, XXVII, 1952, p. 257-281; C. Vandersleyen, *Des obstacles que constituent les cataractes du Nil*, dans *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. orient.*, LXIX, 1971, p. 253-266.

11. J. Desanges, *op. cit.*, p. 45-47.

12. Passion de Ptolémée II pour la zoologie: Diodore, III, 36, 3; il créa un zoo à Alexandrie: Photius, *Bibl.*, 250, 1, d'après Agatharchide, cf. M. Hubbell, *Ptolemy's Zoo*, dans *Class. Journ.*, XXXI, 1935, p. 68-77.

13. G. Le Rider, *Monnaies trouvées à Mirgissa*, dans *Rev. numism.*, VIe série, XI, 1969, p. 33-35.

14. Cf. B.G. Haycock, *Landmarks in Cushite History*, dans *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, LVIII, 1972, p. 230.

15. I. Hofmann, *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie*, St.-Augustin-bei-Bonn, 1978, p. 199-230.

séparaient pas dans la mort. C'est le témoignage d'un attachement des rois de Méroë à l'huile grecque, aux vins de Grèce, peut-être aux parfums d'Alexandrie; en quoi ils ne différaient pas de la cour lagide et de la classe dirigeante gréco-macédonienne établie en Égypte.

Sur un autre plan, il nous semble remarquable que la reine de Méroë soit appelée κυρία βασίλισσα dans une inscription grecque de Dakkeh[16] peu avant notre ère (on pourrait aussi alléguer la transposition latine de cette formule: *domina regina* à Musawwarat es Sofra),[17] alors que Ptolémée Aulète est nommé κύριος βασιλεύς à Philae.[18] Nous y voyons l'expression d'une influence exercée par la titulature aulique des rois d'Alexandrie. Les hellénophones devaient volontiers prodiguer ces marques de considération pour le souverain de Méroë.

Que les rois et les reines kouchites n'aient pas été insensibles aux séductions de l'hellénisme apparaît clairement par le témoignage de monuments architecturaux qui empiètent, il est vrai,largement sur l'époque romaine. Mais à cet égard, s'il y a eu une évolution due à l'influence de l'art proprement romain,[19] on ne peut alléguer aucune rupture de continuité entre l'Alexandrie des Lagides et celle des préfets romains qui ne cessa pas de parler grec et de fréquenter le gymnase.

Mentionnons pour commencer, à Méroë même, dans le quartier royal, le monument que l'on appelle communément «Bains royaux», mais où L. Török[20] verrait plutôt un nymphée romain. Il convient d'attendre sur cet ensemble, toujours si mal connu,[21] l'étude que lui consacre ce savant. Près d'un grand bassin, alimenté en eau par tout un jeu de canalisations, étaient groupées des statues de grès nubien peintes, d'un style hybride où l'influence alexandrine prédomine, telles celle d'un homme reposant sur un lit comme dans une scène de banquet,[22] celles de musiciens: joueur de lyre,[23] flûtiste,[24] joueur de double flûte,[25] ou encore celles

16. *C.I.G.*, III, 5080.

17. *C.I.L.*, III, 83, cf. F. Hintze, *The Latin Inscription from Musawwarat es Sufra*, dans *Kush*, XII, 1964, p. 296-298.

18. *O.G.I.S.*, n° 186, p. 267 = A. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, t. I, *époque ptolémaïque*, Paris, 1969, n° 52, p. 306-311. Ce dernier auteur fait toutefois remarquer, p. 311, que «l'emploi de ὁ κύριος devant βασιλεύς est unique dans la titulature de Ptolémée XII telle qu'elle apparaît dans les inscriptions d'Égypte». Mais il est fort possible que la formule ait été employée fréquemment de vive voix.

19. C'est ce que souligne bien Th. Kraus, *Rom und Meroe*, dans *Mitteil. des deutschen arch. Instituts, Abt. Kairo*, XXV, 1969, spécialement p. 56.

20. L. Török, dans W.Y. Adams, *Meroitic North and South (= Meroitica*, II, 1976), p. 96.

21. On sait que les papiers de J. Garstang, qui fouilla ce secteur, n'ont jamais été publiés.

22. Copenhague N.C.G. 1484; *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, II: *the Catalogue* (St. Wenig), New York (The Brooklyn Museum), 1978, p. 82, fig. 61 et p. 83; cf. aussi P. Shinnie, *op. cit.*, pl. 25.

23. J. Garstang, *Third Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia*, dans *Liverpool Annals of Arch. and Anthr.*, V, p. 79-80, pl. VI; *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 86, fig. 67.

24. J. Garstang, *ibid.*; *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 101, n. 54.

d'un philosophe assis tenant un rouleau,[26] d'un satyre[27] etc. On a aussi trouvé dans le complexe du palais royal la tête d'un noir plein de dignité,[28] traitée de façon classique, une statue familièrement appelée «Vénus de Méroë»[29] dont le mouvement est directement inspiré de l'art classique, mais à laquelle la plénitude des formes féminines confère un caractère typiquement méroïtique, et enfin un groupe de deux statues, une femme nue dont le mouvement des bras amplifie l'animation, cependant que ses hanches vigoureusement marquées attestent le même canon de la féminité,[30] et un homme à la tête relevée vers le haut.[31] En tout, on estime qu'une trentaine de statues hellénisantes, dont certaines très fragmentaires, ont été découvertes dans le secteur des «Bains royaux».

D'autres monuments situés au coeur du royaume dénotent aussi une forte influence hellénistico-romaine, comme l'ont montré notamment Th. Kraus[32] et L. Török.[33] Le plus frappant est, sans conteste, le kiosque de Naga, à une centaine de kilomètres à vol d'oiseau au sud-sud-ouest de Méroë, sur le Wadi Awateib. L'allure générale de l'édifice, les arches, le caractère massif de l'architrave, les chapiteaux corinthisants, les demi-colonnes engagées aux angles du monument expriment l'influence de l'architecture de l'Égypte romaine, alors que les portes et fenêtres, leur ornementation, les frises d'uraeus, les corniches à gorge sont dans la tradition égyptienne telle qu'elle fut adaptée dans le royaume de Méroë. Selon Th. Kraus,[34] le monument daterait du IIIe plutôt que du IIe siècle de notre ère.

Des chapiteaux corinthisants étaient également utilisés dans le Temple du Lion à Basa, à une cinquantaine de kilomètres au sud de la capitale, sur le Wadi Hawad. Ce sanctuaire a récemment fait l'objet d'une étude pénétrante de L. Török.[35] Il est constitué d'une pièce unique précédée, à l'égyptienne, d'un pylône et entourée d'une colonnade, si bien que l'auteur le qualifie de quasi-périptère (*peripteros-like*). L'emploi, déjà relevé à Naga, de deux demi-colonnes engagées dans des piliers d'angle, formant comme un cœur en section horizontale, est ici également attesté dans une colonnade frontale indépendante du péristyle. L.

25. Londres, University College, A 400, O 36; D.M. Dixon et K.P. Wachsmann, *A Sandstone Statue of an Auletes from Meroe*, dans *Kush*, XII, 1964, p. 119-125 et pl. XXXVI-XXXVII.

26. J. Garstang, *ibid.*, p. 80, pl. X.

27. L. Török, dans *Meroitica*, II, 1976, p. 97.

28. Copenhague N.C.G. 1336; *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 83, fig. 62 et p. 87.

29. Munich, Staatl. Sammlung Ägypt. Kunst ÄS 1334; *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 87 et Cat. 161, p. 235.

30. Khartoum 538; *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 87, fig. 68; cf. aussi P. Shinnie, *op. cit.*, pl. 26.

31. Khartoum 537; *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 87; P. Shinnie, *op. cit.*, pl. 27.

32. Th. Kraus, *Der Kiosk von Naga*, dans *Arch. Anz.*, 1964, col. 834-868.

33. L. Török, *op. cit.*, p. 96-97.

34. Th. Kraus, *op. cit.*, col. 867.

35. L. Török, *Traces of Alexandrian Architecture in Meroe: a Late Hellenistic Motif in its History*, dans *Studia Aegyptiaca* (Budapest), II, 1976, p. 115-138.

Török montre que cette utilisation élargie d'un artifice connu à Alexandrie dès le IIIe siècle avant notre ère n'a pu se diffuser que d'Alexandrie encore vers diverses parties du monde antique (et jusqu'à Brescia, en Italie du Nord, sous Vespasien). Le temple de Basa serait à dater du milieu du Ier siècle avant J.-C., ce qui lui donnerait une antériorité d'environ trois siècles par rapport au kiosque de Naga.

D'autres temples quasi-périptères révèlent dans leur plan une influence hellénistique, tels le temple «G» de Naga ou le soi-disant Temple du Soleil à Méroë dont le sanctuaire et la colonnade qui l'entoure sont haussés par un podium. À Méroë, les chapiteaux des colonnes devaient être également corinthisants. L'un d'eux a été mis au jour au début du siècle. Enfin la colonnade périphérique du temple central de la «grande enceinte» de Musawwarat es Sofra comporte des traits hellénistiques.

Il est donc incontestable que l'influence de l'architecture hellénistique s'est exercée sur certains monuments de la capitale du royaume et des cités qui en étaient proches. Dans le vaste complexe royal de Méroë, encore très imparfaitement connu, les souverains ont tenu à posséder une piscine ou un nymphée à proximité de leur palais, comme il en était dans les villas impériales. On peut supposer aussi qu'ils s'entouraient de musiciens grecs, ou du moins jouant de la musique grecque. De nombreux fragments d'auloi ont été jadis exhumés à Méroë.[36] Nous savons par le *Périple* anonyme *de la mer Érythrée*[37] que des instruments de musique ou des esclaves musiciens étaient importés du monde méditerranéen jusque dans l'Inde, où ils constituaient des cadeaux très appréciés des rois et des Grands.[38]

St. Wenig[39] considère que la statuaire de style composite, mais d'inspiration hellénistique qui décorait la piscine ou le nymphée de Méroë est l'expression d'une mode très limitée dans le temps et dans l'espace. Il date cette mode du IIe ou du IIIe siècle de notre ère, soit à l'époque attribuée par Th. Kraus à la construction du kiosque de Naga. Certaines de ces statues lui semblent pourtant un peu antérieures, comme la tête de Noir en grès.[40] Mais une frise courant autour de la base d'une colonne du temple central dans la «grande enceinte» de Musawwarat es Sofra figure une ronde de danseurs d'inspiration hellénistique.[41] Doit-elle être

36. N.B. Bodley, *The Auloi of Meroë. A Study of the Greek-Egyptian Auloi found at Meroë, Egypt* (sic), dans *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, L, 1946, p. 217-240 et pl. 1-8; D.M. Dixon et K.P. Wachsmann, *op. cit.*

37. *Périple de la mer Érythrée*, 49, dans *Geogr. Graeci minores*, I, p. 293.

38. E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Londres-Dublin-New York, 1974², p. 262.

39. *Africa in Antiquity*, II, p. 65 et 87.

40. Cf. *supra* n. 28.

41. F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Meroe et au fleuve blanc*, Planches, I, Paris, 1823, pl. XXX, 5; Texte, III, 1826, p. 146-147: «trois petites figures, tournant le dos au spectateur, dansent en rond autour de la

nécessairement datée de la même époque? Une plaque de grès[42] représentant Arikankharor frappant les ennemis, que l'on croit provenir de Méroë, comporte des traits nettement hellénistiques ou romains, notamment la façon dont est figuré un chien. Les pieds ailés de la déesse évoquée font penser aux sandales ailées d'Hermès et, selon I. Hofmann, le vêtement du prince trahit une influence romaine. Or cet Arikankharor doit être identique au prince héritier de ce nom qui est associé au roi Natakamani et à la reine Amanitore qu'on considère comme des contemporains d'Auguste. Même s'il est vrai que cette plaque est d'un style très différent de celui des sculptures des prétendus «Bains royaux», nous pouvons prendre ici conscience que l'influence hellénistique s'est exercée sur une longue durée, en l'occurrence au moins celle-là même qui semble séparer le temple de Basa du kiosque de Naga.

Doit-on admettre que des architectes et des sculpteurs grecs établis en Égypte séjournaient dans le royaume de Méroë? C'est fort possible, mais il semble que dans l'état actuel de la documentation on puisse faire l'économie de cette hypothèse. Th. Kraus[43] insiste sur une absence de dextérité dans le traitement des chapiteaux et des astragales qui contraste avec l'habileté qui se manifeste dans le répertoire des formes égyptiennes et méroïtiques. De son côté, St. Wenig[44] souligne, à propos de la statue d'homme reposant sur un lit trouvée dans les «Bains royaux» de Méroë, que l'emploi d'un grès qui est nubien, certains détails morphologiques du modèle, l'inadaptation du thème du banquet (mais il pourrait s'agir d'un dieu-fleuve!) au cadre architectural incitent à penser que le sculpteur était indigène. Il y a donc eu production locale et adaptation, et non point importation d'œuvres ou d'artistes. Il en va à fortiori de même pour des objets plus utiles qui semblent pourtant au premier coup d'oeil hellénistiques. Dans le domaine de la toreutique, telle lampe en bronze[45] provenant de la pyramide du roi Taqideamani

colonne: elles sont sculptées en plein relief, et appartiennent évidemment au style grec»; R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, t. V, éd. de Leipzig, 1913, pl. 71 d et p. 344: «Auf den Säulen im nordwestlichen Tempel sieht man um den Schaft tanzende Gruppen; am einen sieht man die Rücken der tanzenden Figuren, am anderen sieht man sie von vorn».

42. Worcester Art Museum 1922.145, «plaquette Cargill»; P.L. Shinnie, *op. cit.*, pl. 33; I. Hofmann, *Studien zum meroitischen Königtum*, Bruxelles, 1971, p. 57-58 et pl. 8 b. L'inscription méroïtique est *Répertoire d'Épigraphie méroïtique* (= *R.E.M.*), 1005, cf. *Meroitic Newsletter*, 1, oct. 1968, p. 15. Sur les pieds ailés de la déesse et sur ses ailes qui servent à voler, procédé inhabituel en Égypte, cf. St. Wenig, *Kunst im Reich von Meroe*, dans *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, XV, 1975, p. 422 (commentaire de la planche 426).

43. Th. Kraus, *Der Kiosk von Naga*, col. 868.

44. *Africa in Antiquity*, II, p. 87; cf. *supra* n. 22. S'il s'agit d'un banquet, le torse est vraiment peu redressé, cf. J.M. Dentzer, *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.C.*, Rome, 1982, 673 p., 118 pl. La coiffure est curieuse. Les affinités me sembleraient chypriotes ou syriennes; mais il faut tenir compte du décalage temporel.

45. D. Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush, IV: Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal*, Boston, 1957,

(Beg. N. 29), dans le cimetière nord de Méroë, avec sa feuille d'acanthe typiquement hellénistique qui protège de la flamme une poignée annulaire, et son crochet de suspension en forme de tête de griffon, n'en comporte pas moins une inscription méroïtique[46] et une marque en relief ciselée dès l'origine. De telles marques ont été récemment étudiées par L. Török;[47] elles indiqueraient l'appartenance de l'objet ou de son contenu à l'intendance de tel roi de Méroë ou de tel riche particulier, au Ier et au IIe siècle de notre ère. Nombre d'autres bronzes dénotant d'incontestables affinités hellénistiques ont été fabriqués dans des ateliers de Méroë.

De même encore, dans le domaine de la céramique, la poterie dite romano-nubienne a été produite non seulement en Nubie du Nord, comme l'a montré W. Adams,[48] mais aussi en Nubie du Sud, ainsi que le souligne à juste titre St. Wenig.[49] Il est même possible que la vaisselle peinte influencée par l'alexandrinisme soit apparue d'abord en Nubie méridionale. On retiendra un fragment de coupe trouvé à Méroë représentant un couple nu, sans doute une scène érotique sur fond de fleurs de lotus,[50] ou encore une vaisselle à paroi épaisse de Musawwarat es Sofra sur laquelle est figuré un archer qui se prépare à tirer sur un oiseau picorant une grappe de vigne.[51] Selon St. Wenig, cette céramique pourrait avoir été rituellement brisée pendant la cérémonie de fondation du temple central et enterrée ensuite.

Il est remarquable que de précieux vases en verre de tradition hellénistique aient été tout aussi rituellement brisés au moment de l'inhumation du défunt dans des tombes de Sedeinga, à une quinzaine de kilomètres au nord de Soleb, en aval de la IIIe Cataracte. J. Leclant[52] a en effet observé que «des fragments provenant du caveau s'assemblent à des éclats recueillis dans la descenderie, en particulier sous des éléments de fermeture de la porte d'accès». Cette verrerie était donc

p. 168 (21-3-160) et p. 170, pl. LI; cf. aussi P.L. Shinnie, *Meroe*, p. 128 et pl. 69; St. Wenig, *Meroitische Kleinkunst*, Leipzig, 1978, pl. 30 et p. 54.

46. *R.E.M.*, 0822.

47. L. Török, *A special Group of Meroitic Property Marks from the 1st to 2nd Centuries A.D.*, dans *Meroitic Newsletter*, 10 juil. 1972, p. 35-44 et 3 pl.h.t.

48. W.Y. Adams, *An introductory Classification of Meroitic Pottery*, dans *Kush*, XII, 1964, p. 126-173; Idem, *Meroitic North and South, a Study in Cultural Contrasts*, dans *Meroitica*, II, 1976, p. 19.

49. *Africa in Antiquity*, II, p. 94-95.

50. Liverpool, Merseyside County Museum 49. 47. 840. St. Wenig, dans *Africa in Antiquity*, II, p. 278, Cat. 220, date la poterie du IIe siècle de notre ère.

51. Berlin/D.D.R., Ägyptisches Museum 29039; *Africa in Antiquity*, p. 276, Cat. 219. La position de ces fragments, lors de leur découverte, engage à les dater au plus tard du IIIe siècle avant J.-C. (St. Wenig, *ibid.*, p. 94), ce qui montre à la fois que la vaisselle peinte influencée par Alexandrie est apparue très tôt à Méroë et que le matériel de style hellénistique, en l'absence de critère de datation incontestable, est peut-être trop facilement attribué au siècle des Antonins.

52. J. Leclant, *La nécropole ouest à Sedeinga en Nubie soudanaise*, dans *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B.-L.*, 1970, p. 269.

intégrée étroitement à la vie et à la mort de personnages puissants certes, mais qui n'étaient assurément pas des rois et vivaient loin de la capitale. Les vases étaient utilisés une dernière fois dans un rite funéraire ou conservés intacts auprès du mort. Certains de ces vases sont «lettrés». Ils comportent une inscription en langue grecque, telles ces deux extraordinaires flûtes en verre bleu transparent découvertes dans la tombe WT 8 de Sedeinga.[53] On lit autour de l'orifice la formule ΠΙΕΖΗΣΕΝ, qu'il faut comprendre «bois pour vivre» (il s'agit d'un infinitif futur de but, croyons-nous[54]). Le décor doré et polychrome est égyptien, puisqu'il représente le dieu Osiris assis sur un trône et recevant des offrandes: nouvel exemple de la fusion entre l'élément grec et l'élément égypto-méroïtique. On connaît d'autres formules grecques sur vases de verre: ainsi, à 2 km au nord-ouest de Kalabsha, dans une tombe de la fin du IVe siècle de notre ère, ΚΑΙΙΣΩΡΑΣ ΠΑΝΟΙΚΕΙ, c'est-à-dire «pour longtemps avec tous les tiens» (avec toute ta famille),[55] ou encore à Serra, au nord de Ouadi Halfa (IIe Cataracte), ΚΑΤΑΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΥ, «sois en liesse et réjouissance».[56] Là aussi, s'il faut bien évidemment admettre qu'il y eut des importations de la région d'Alexandrie, on ne peut exclure l'existence d'ateliers situés en Nubie. Dans une étude récente consacrée à la verrerie hellénistique de Kouch, E.M. Stern[57] exprime l'opinion que l'on savait faire des incrustations en verre dans le royaume de Méroë depuis au moins le IIIe siècle avant notre ère. De nombreuses tablettes de verre ont été trouvées dans les dépôts de fondation des plus anciennes pyramides méroïtiques. Même les splendides flûtes à pied de Sedeinga présentent des particularités qui «pourraient suggérer, selon J. Leclant,[58] une manufacture locale»,

53. Idem, *Glass from the Meroitic Necropolis of Sedeinga (Sudanese Nubia)*. dans *Journ. of Glass Studies*, XV, 1973, p. 56-68.

54. *E pour *ει dans les désinences d'infinitif, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, 1, 2e éd. par H. Schmoll, Berlin, 1970, p. 54-55; S.T. Teodorsson, *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine*, Lund, 1977 (= *Stud. Gr. et Lat. Gothob.*, XXXVI), p. 101-102; emploi croissant, à l'époque ptolémaïque, de l'infinitif en fonction de datif avec une valeur de but ou de conséquence, cf. E. Mayser, II, 1, 1926, p. 297. L'infinitif futur sigmatique (à thème de désidératif) est particulièrement apte à cet usage.

55. H. Ricke, *Ausgrabungen von Khor Dehmit bis Bet el-'ali* (= *The Univ. of Chicago, Orient. Instit. Nubian Exped.*, II), Chicago, 1967, p. 45-46. Pour le sens de πανοικεί, souvent mal compris, «avec toute ta maisonnée», cf. les exemples recueillis par H.G. Liddell et R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, art. πανοικεσίᾳ.

56. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Preliminary Report of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition. Archaeological Investigation between Faras and Gemai, november 1961-March 1962*, dans *Kush*, XI, 1963, p. 66 et pl. XII b. Une liste des vases «lettrés» de Basse-Nubie est donnée par J. Leclant, dans *Journ. of Glass Studies*, XV, 1973, p. 65.

57. E.M. Stern, *Hellenistic Glass from Kush (Modern Sudan)*, dans *Annales du 8e Congrès de l'association internationale pour l'histoire du verre, Londres-Liverpool 1979*, Liège, 1981, p. 47.

58. C. Aldred, F. Daumas, Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, J. Leclant, *L'Égypte du crépuscule* (Coll.

notamment le traitement si original de la coiffure des porteurs d'offrandes, qui est caractéristique des figurations kouchites depuis la XXVe dynastie, et le disque doré qui surmonte leur tête.

Bien des domaines seraient encore à évoquer, qui mettraient en lumière cette assimilation particulièrement active de l'influence hellénistique. Nous nous bornerons à prendre un ou deux exemples en matière de religion. J. Leclant a naguère vigoureusement dégagé différents aspects du syncrétisme méroïtique.[59] Il a montré qu'il fallait supposer un prolongement kouchite au syncrétisme Osiris-Dionysos, déjà attesté en Égypte par Hérodote.[60] Dans une communication récente, E. Séguenny[61] a recensé le matériel issu des tombes privées de la Nubie septentrionale qui témoigne de la vénération vouée à Dionysos. N'oublions pas que l'on cultivait la vigne dans la Dodécaschène![62] Mais à Méroë même, deux têtes de bronze hellénistiques de Dionysos ont été trouvées dans la pyramide Beg. N. 5, celle du prince Arikankharor.[63] Parmi les amphores méditerranéennes provenant des pyramides royales, beaucoup avaient contenu des vins fins et il n'est pas interdit de penser que le culte de Dionysos a pu être associé au goût pour le vin grec.

Le culte de Sarapis est également bien représenté dans les sépultures privées de la Nubie du Nord, et notamment à Karanog, un peu en aval de Qasr Ibrim, comme l'a montré encore E. Séguenny. J. Leclant[64] a avancé des arguments convaincants en faveur de l'hypothèse d'un syncrétisme entre Apedemak, dieu-lion de l'île de Méroë,[65] et Hélios-Sarapis. Toutefois il nous semble possible que Sarapis n'ait pas été assimilé au même dieu dans toutes les parties de la Nubie. Une bague de Karanog[66] porte l'inscription CAPAΠIC ICΓATOO NOΠATOY,

«L'univers des formes»), Paris, 1980, p. 258 (cf. fig. 254, p. 257); cf. aussi J. Leclant, dans *Journ. of Glass Studies*, p. 66-67, et Idem, *Aspects du syncrétisme méroïtique*, dans *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine, Colloque de Strasbourg (9-11 juin 1971)*, Paris, 1973, p. 137.

59. Idem, dans *Les syncrétismes*, p. 135-145, pl. VII et VIII h.t.

60. Hérodote, II, 144.

61. A paraître dans les *Actes de la Ve Conférence intern. de la Société des études nubiennes: Heidelberg 20-25 sept. 1982*, cf. les *Nuntii* de J. Leclant et P. van Moorsel, dans *Orientalia*, LII, 1983, p. 272.

62. W.Y. Adams, *The Vintage of Nubia*, dans *Kush*, XIV, 1966, p. 262-283; A. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, I, Paris, 1969, p. 136; J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*, Rome, 1978, p. 286 et n. 340.

63. F. Chamoux, *Une tête de Dionysos trouvée à Méroë*, dans *Kush*, VIII, 1960, p. 77-87 et pl. XXIII-XXVI; Idem, *The Dionysus from Meroe*, dans *Kush*, X, 1962, p. 335.

64. J. Leclant, dans *Les syncrétismes*, p. 142-144.

65. L.V. Žabkar, *Apedemak Lion God of Meroe*, Warminster, 1975, 216 p.; il existe également sur ce sujet une thèse de 3e cycle inédite due à E. Séguenny (Paris, 1974).

66. C.L. Woolley et D. Randall MacIver, *Karanog*, III - *The Romano-Nubian Cemetery, Text*, Philadelphie, 1910, p. 63; IV - *Idem, Plates*, Phil., 1910, pl. 33, n° 8129 = G 638.

c'est-à-dire soit, comme on le suppose en général, Σάραπις ἐσχάτου Ναπάτου,[67] soit peut-être Σάραπις ἔσχατος Ναπάτου, si le second *-O de ICΓATOO doit être interprété comme un sigma lunaire. Quel que soit le sens exact de la formule, elle nous apprend qu'il existait un Sarapis de Napata, et, compte tenu de l'importance de l'association Zeus-Sarapis-Hélios dans l'Empire,[68] on peut se demander si le syncrétisme ne s'est pas fait ici avec Amon-Rê de Napata.

Toutefois, il ne faudrait pas surestimer l'influence de l'hellénisme sur le royaume de Méroë en matière religieuse. Sarapis est un dieu composite, mis à l'honneur sans doute par la dynastie lagide, mais qui amalgame à l'origine des éléments essentiellement égyptiens. Quant à Dionysos, il a été également très cultivé par les rois d'Alexandrie qui ont sans cesse balancé entre Sarapis et lui, certains d'entre eux lui vouant une nette prédilection.[69] L'Égypte a donc agi comme un filtre, et c'est une situation que l'on retrouve dans presque tous les domaines, ce qui nous achemine vers notre conclusion.

Si imparfaite que soit notre connaissance de l'hellénisme du royaume de Méroë, nous pouvons nous aviser qu'il possède une nature assez singulière. C'est en effet un hellénisme exotique et tardif qui provient pour une grande partie d'Alexandrie, grande cité grecque certes, mais aussi ville cosmopolite, et dans une mesure non négligeable de la Chora, voire de la Haute-Égypte, ce qui implique déjà bien des compromis entre la culture grecque et la culture égyptienne. D'autre part, il semble que les influences hellénistiques se soient diffusées en Nubie avec un certain retard par rapport à l'époque de la grandeur politique de la dynastie lagide. Au premier siècle avant notre ère, celle-ci est extrêmement affaiblie et l'on ne sait dans quelle mesure elle contrôle la Dodécaschène. Dès 30 avant notre ère, l'Égypte devient romaine, sans cesser, il est vrai, d'être égyptienne et grecque. Or c'est sensiblement plus tard, selon toute apparence, que l'influence d'Alexandrie s'exerce le plus nettement sur l'architecture et la statuaire du

67. Strabon, XVII, 1, 54 (C 820), considère le toponyme comme un neutre pluriel en -α. On peut penser que ce toponyme a été parfois refait comme un neutre singulier en -ov.

68. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1929, p. 79, avec la reproduction de la dédicace à Zeus-Sarapis-Hélios trouvée dans le mithréum des Thermes de Caracalla, et p. 239, n. 57.

69. Ce fut notamment le cas de Ptolémée IV Philopator et de Ptolémée Aulète surnommé «Néos Dionysos»; sur le premier, cf. J. Tondriau, *Les thiases dionysiaques de la cour ptolémaïque*, dans *Chron. d'Égypte*, XLI, 1946, p. 148-171 (particulièrement, pour le tatouage bacchique de Ptolémée IV, p. 152, n. 4, et p. 154, n. 2), et M. Fasciato et J. Leclant, *Une tête «ammonienne» du Musée de Cherchel*, dans *Mélanges Ch. Picard*, I, Paris, 1949 (= *Rev. arch.*, 6e série, XXIX-XXX, 1948), p. 369-371. Mais Dionysos était tenu pour un des ancêtres de la dynastie lagide, cf. Satyros, fragm. 21 dans *F.H.G.*, III, p. 164-165, et *O.G.I.S.*, 54 = Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Top. chr.*, II, 58, éd. W. Wolska-Conus, I («Sources chrétiennes», n° 141), p. 371. Ptolémée II avait déjà donné une grande importance à la pompe dionysiaque, cf. F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, I, Stuttgart, 1957, p. 291.

royaume de Méroë. L'impulsion supplémentaire a donc été romaine; encore faut-il observer que l'on a tendance à dater du IIIe siècle de notre ère un certain nombre de témoignages d'hellénisation, à une époque où, à son tour, le pouvoir romain connaît de grandes difficultés. Il y a là un problème assez troublant de discordance rythmique, et l'on y verra plus clair quand la chronologie méroïtique sera mieux assurée.

Un autre problème majeur posé dans une controverse courtoise entre W. Adams et L. Török[70] ne peut sans doute pas encore être résolu en toute certitude: dans la diffusion de l'hellénisme, quelle a été la part de la proximité géographique, avec les relations de toutes sortes qu'elle implique, et celle d'une impulsion consciente venue du pouvoir méroïtique? Autrement dit, et pour simplifier, la part du Nord et celle du Sud de la Nubie? A ce problème est lié dans une certaine mesure une autre question à laquelle seule une très longue et très délicate enquête permettrait peut-être de répondre: Quelle est l'importance de la part de la société méroïtique qui fut touchée par une influence hellénique assurément déjà très complexe et très mêlée? Enfin, je ne sais s'il sera jamais possible à l'historien de répondre à cette ultime interrogation: jusqu'à quelle profondeur cet hellénisme exotique a-t-il pénétré les croyances et les conceptions des Méroïtes ?[71]

Jehan Desanges

70. W.Y. Adams, *Meroitic North and South*, dans *Meroitica*, II, 1976, p. 18-20 notamment; L. Török, *ibid.*, spécialement p. 99-100; Idem, *The Art of the Ballana Culture and its Relation to Late Antique Art*, dans *Meroitica*, V, 1979, p. 86-87.

71. Au terme de cette brève étude, qu'il me soit permis de remercier M.J. Leclant qui a bien voulu lire mon manuscrit et m'a suggéré nombre d'améliorations. Bien entendu, j'assume l'entière responsabilité d'une synthèse dont j'ai conscience qu'elle est tout à fait provisoire.

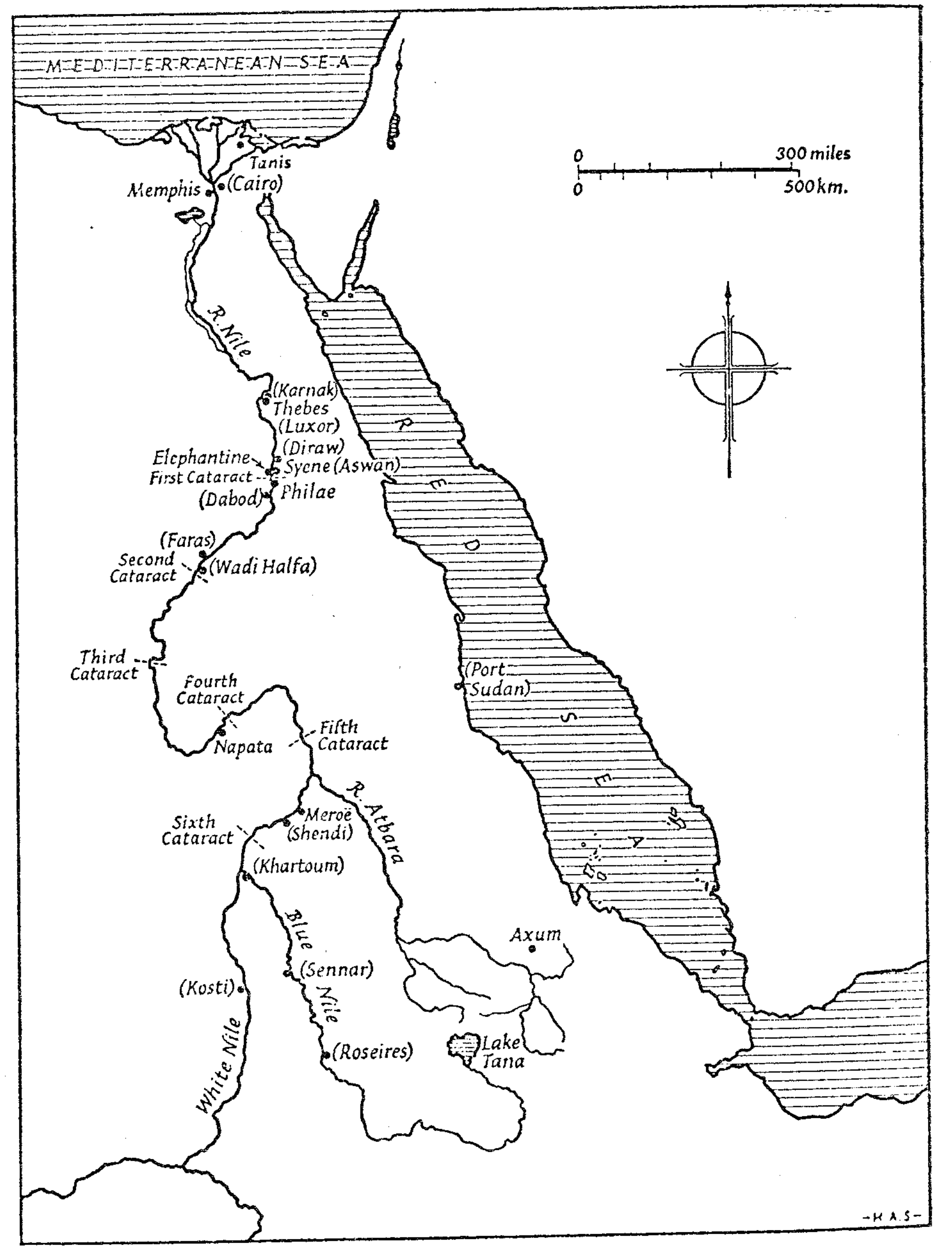


Fig. 1: La vallée du Nil. D'après P.L. Shinnie, *Meroe*, Londres, 1967, p. 14.

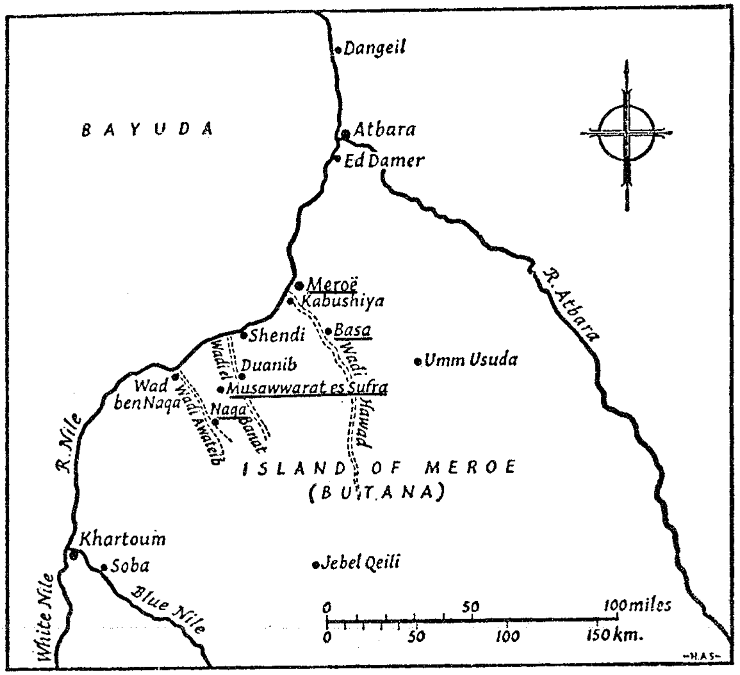


Fig. 2: L'île de Méroë. D'après P.L. Shinnie, *Meroe*, p. 53.



Fig. 3: Le kiosque de Naga, vu de l'ouest
Photo Menil Foundation, Mario Carrieri

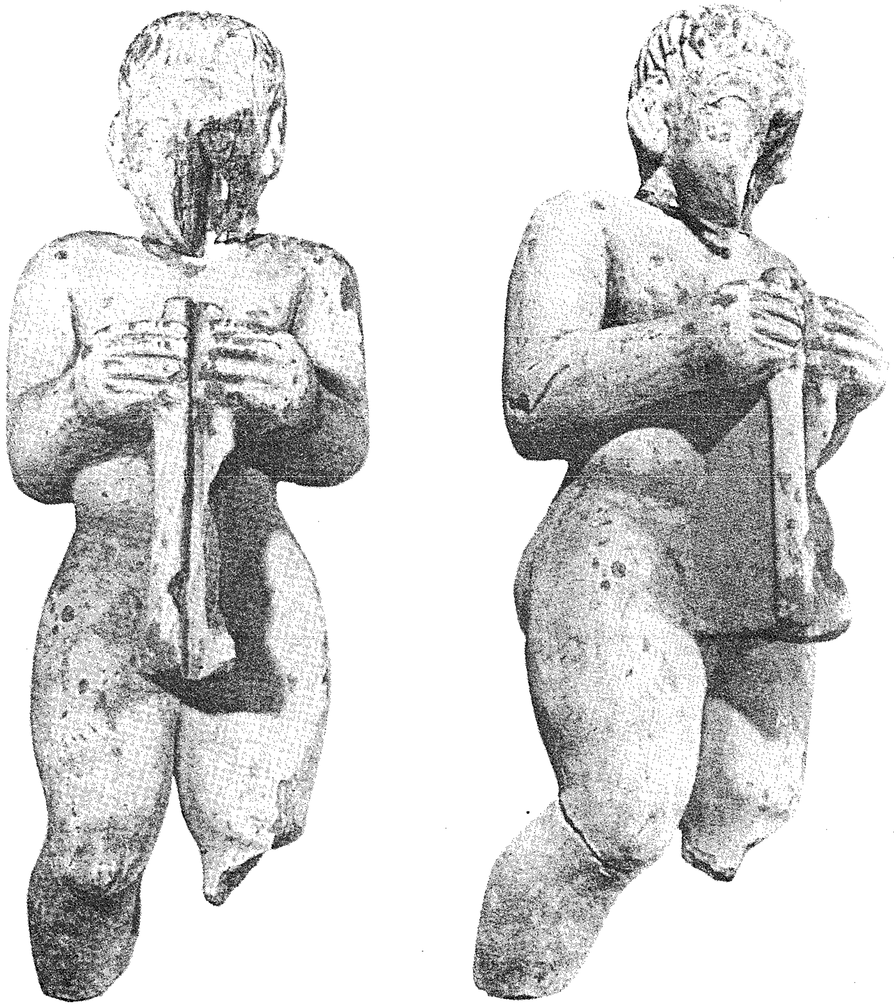


Fig. 4: Statue en grès d'un aulète provenant des «Bains royaux» de Méroë
D'après D.M. Dixon et K.P. Wachsmann, dans *Kush*, XII, 1964, pl. XXXVI, face à la p. 120.



Fig. 5: Arikankharor frappant les ennemis, plaquette en grès dite Cargill
D'après P.L. Shinnie, *Meroe*, fig. 33 h.t.



Fig. 6: Lampe en bronze provenant de la pyramide du roi Taqideamani (Beg. N. 29)
Photo Menil Foundation



Fig. 7(a-d): Flûte en verre bleu transparent de Sedeinga
Collection M.S. Giorgini, Université de Pise
Photo Menil Foundation

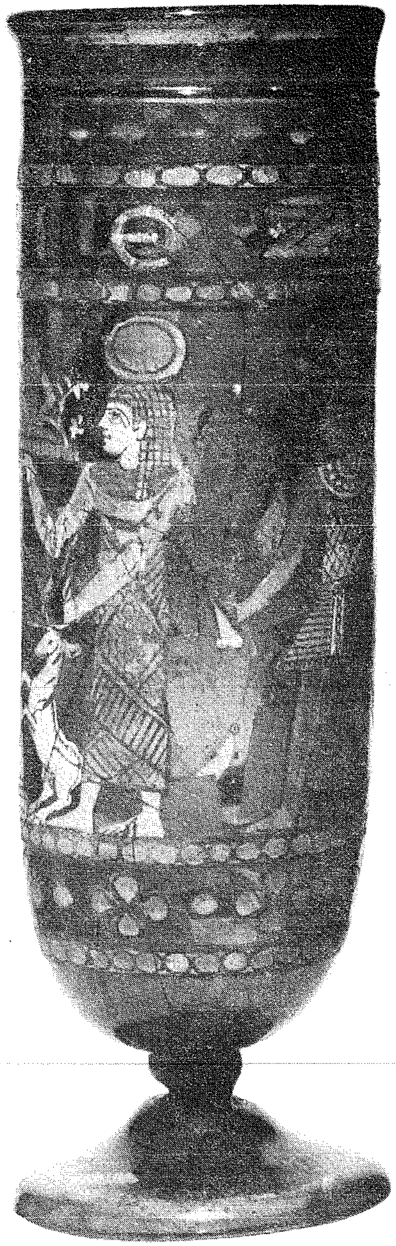


Fig. 7b



Fig. 7c



Fig. 7d

CONGRESSES

This year the Euro-Arab Cultural Dialogue (Meeting of European Coordination for the cultural, social and work questions) took place in Athens, on 19-20 September. Prof. M. Papathomopoulos, representing the Greek Ministry of Education, spoke briefly about the necessity of establishing courses on the Arabo-Islamic culture at the Greek Universities and gave a short account on the First International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies, on the periodical *Graeco-Arabica* and on the efforts for establishing a Center of Greek and Arabic Studies in Athens.

On 15 October 1983 the 24th Congress of Bilād al-Shām took place in Amman under the auspices of the Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan. Many distinguished scholars from America, Europe and the Near East participated. Ass. Prof. V. Christides, representing Greece, spoke about the importance of hagiographical works for the study of pre-Islamic history. He also presented the efforts for the establishment of a Center of Greek and Arabic Studies in Athens. Crown Prince Hassan congratulated him for this endeavour and promissed his full support.

An important Congress on «Gli Interscambi culturali e socio-economici fra l'Africa Settentrionale e l'Europa Mediterranea» took place in Amalfi, Italy, on 5-8 December 1983. This Congress was organised by the Istituto di Studi Africani - Scuola di Studi Islamici of Naples and the Istituto di Geografia of Salerno, under the auspices of the AIECM (Association Internationale d'Etude des Civilisations Méditerranéennes). Many distinguished scholars from Italy, France, Spain, Malte, the Maghreb and other countries participated. Prof. M. Papathomopoulos, representing Greece, read a paper on «Three little known Sources on the relations between Byzantium and North Africa».

The next (18th) International Congress for Greek and Latin Papyrology will took place in Athens, in 1986. Prof. M. Papathomopoulos has been elected president of the Organizing Committee.

DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

Two dissertations on the relations between Byzantium and Africa are now in progress:

a. B. Kijobo, *Byzantines, Arabs and Nubians in the Vth and the VIth centuries A.D.* (University of Athens. Supervisors: Prof. Aik. Christophyllopoulou and Prof. V. Christides).

b. D. Letsios, *Foreign policy of Byzantium in Arabia and Nubia* (University of Ioannina. Supervisors: Prof. E. Chryssos and V. Christides).

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